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NARRATIVE

OF

THE LIFE

OF

A GENTLEMAN long RESIDENT in INDIA:

COMPREHENDING

A PERIOD THE MOST EVENTFUL IN THE HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY,

WITH REGARD TO THE REVOLUTIONS OCCASIONED BY EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE,

And interspersed with interesting Anecdotes, and Traits characteristical of those eminent Persons who distinguished themselves at that Juncture.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1814.

210. h. 304.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I had long determined upon writing a Narrative of my Life. It was suggested to me by friends who felt for the vicissitudes which I had experienced. I began it therefore in 1801, *and continued it, from time to time, till in* 1808 *I had brought it to a close. The reason of the delay in its publication has been detailed by notifications inserted in the Cape Gazette. I thank those who have now afforded me the opportunity of giving it to the world, without subjecting me to a pecuniary loss.—I trust in its object removing the animadversions, which men of illiberal dispositions, and perfectly ignorant of what concerned me personally, had endeavored to impress the Public with, regarding my career of service, and latterly the motives of my actions. Equally, do I hope, in behalf of my much esteemed brother servants, that it will conduce to render Rulers cautious, of infringing and violating rights, which, by covenants executed, and these sanctioned and established by virtue of an Act of Parliament, each civil servant of the East India Company is strongly entrenched with.*

Should this have the desired effect, I shall consider myself amply rewarded; and in the pleasure of having been the cause of doing away an evil, and deterring those placed in power, from committing in future, acts which are not warrantable, I shall forget the individual wrongs which I have suffered.

Cape of Good Hope, 15th April, 1814.

G. F. GRAND.

NARRATIVE, &c.

I HAVE long promised you, my dear Friend, the Publication of the Narrative of my Life. You are well aware that it was written at a period, when my prospects of advancement in rank and fortune were, in an instant, blasted. The hasty and unexpected decision of the Court of Directors, on my Appeal to their Justice, against the arbitrary and illegal Act of their Servants, brought on this misfortune and disappointment.

It befell me, likewise, at such an advanced time of life, and after above thirty years of honorable Service, both in the Civil and Military lines on the Bengal Establishment, as utterly to incapacitate me, as I then considered my situation, from embracing and following other pursuits, which might have created a hope of retrieving, before Nature closed her end, my fallen Fortunes in this World. I, thus, resigned myself to adversity, and contemplated the fortunate career of others of my brother Servants, with the Philosophic reflection, that what they enjoyed in Riches and Power, they wanted, many of them, in Health; for, blessed with a good constitution, and a mind conscious of its unmerited fate, I bade fair to sink in the vale of life, bereft of affluence, but freed from corroding thoughts and lingering disease.

An incident, suddenly arisen, changed this aspect.

A proposition was made to me, which beamed a ray of hope, that Fortune again would be favorable. This revived ambitious views, which scarcely had lain dormant. Sensible, that my faculties were unimpaired, I deemed it criminal to give up active scenes, where the strongest expectation of success was grounded. I seized, joyfully, the moment offered, and perfectly free in my election, I repaired, in time of Peace, to the Cape of Good Hope, vested with a High Station, and the spontaneous assurance that nothing would be left undone, which could tend to raise me again to honors and wealth. Unfortunately, the War broke out, and the wishes of myself, as well as of those Friends intent on re-establishing me in life, were defeated. You know the sequel. Happy in my second choice of a Partner, I upbraided not the worldly opportunity lost.—My happiness centered alone in domestic concern. May you be blessed in the like manner, should it ever be your lot to deplore, as I did, the cruel separation which forced me from the first! I now proceed to my Narrative.

Born of a virtuous and noble Family, (my Mother's name being le Clerc de Virly, which Virly was a Signorial Patrimony in Normandy, long the property and residence of her ancestors, till the Despotism of

Lewis XIV by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, drove the Seigneur de Virly, to take refuge with his Family in England, leaving his fair possessions and wealth to the spoil of his tyrannical King); Educated at Lausanne (in the environs of which delightful City and Country, the Lordship of Ecublanc, situated on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, between Lausanne and Morges, had long been the Seat of the Grands,*) in the house, and under the superintendance of the best Parents, assisted by a private Tutor, a Clergyman living in the house, and with whom I used to attend the Lectures of the first Professors of Science in that celebrated University, I could not otherwise be formed, when I opened my career in the world, but with a disposition inclined to honor, virtue, and fraught with every social tie.

Tinctured with a superficial knowledge of almost every Science, versed in none, joined with a smattering of Greek and Latin, was I taken at too early an age from my studies, to be sent to London. My Father, blessed with a numerous family of Children, could not, however his partiality for me, resist the offer made to him, by an old friend in the Mercantile line, to receive his Son as his Apprentice for seven years gratis, and then to succeed to a regular Business, which, at the less estimated amount, brought in annually a clear and almost certain income of £5000 per annum. This person was Mr. Robert Jones, of Clement's Lane, Lombard Street, who died in 1774, possessed of a fortune of £150,000, and vacating with his death a Seat in Parliament for the Borough of Huntingdon, one in the East India Direction, and an Elder Brothership of the Trinity House. I am thus particular, because it is consistent with the Narrative of my Life that this person's character should be brought forward to view. From a small beginning, being Captain of a Lisbon Trader, and without any Education whatsoever, yet, endowed with a strong genius, and gifted with that talent which the immortal Shakespeare has described, "*Of grasping Fortune when she presents herself*," did he rise to the eminence of rank in life and fortune, which is above described.

Accordant with these views, I took leave of the tenderest of Parents, and, with a sorrowful heart, I was consigned to the care of a *Voiturier*, to feed and transport me from Lausanne to London. This distance, through the direct road of Franche Comté, Champagne, and Picardy, we accomplished by short stages in three weeks. I recollect nothing particular which passed during the Journey, excepting having been intoxicated, for the first time in my life, with Champagne wine at Rheims, and being exceedingly seasick in the passage across the Channel.

Arrived in London, the *Voiturier* took an immediate opportunity to deliver over his charge. On being presented to Mr. Jones, instead of being welcomed as the son of his old Friend, to whom he had obligations, I was received by a man of coarse manners and harsh voice, more as a damaged landed Bale of Goods might have been, than with any mark of affection and attachment to the source whence I sprang. He asked me, indeed, how my Father and Mother were, and if I had brought him any Gruyere Cheese, which the *Voiturier*, answering for me in the affirmative, seemed to work a happy change. He smiled and bade me approach him; called for the Footman, and observing his spare beds were removed into the Country, committed me to the care of him, who was directed to afford me half his Bed to sleep on. The next morning after breakfasting with Mr. Jones, I was introduced

* In the History of the "Chapitre de Lausanne" are registered two *nobles Chanoines*, of the Catholic Cathedral in the 12th Century, viz. Girard Grand, and Eric Grand; and *vice versa* in the 16th Century, by a reference to Moreri's Historical and Biographical Dictionary, it will be seen in that Century, that a Descendant, named likewise Girard Grand, Doctor of Laws, and Counsellor of the City of Lausanne, materially assisted with De Watteville, Viret, and others, in Introducing the Reformation in Switzerland.

duced into the Accounting House, and my first duty prescribed to see it cleaned, the Fire well lighted, the Desks brushed, the Chairs, &c. well placed, and told I should be favored to run about with Bills for acceptance, so soon as I became acquainted a little with the Streets of London, to be able to find my way in them, until when, I was ordered to accompany the footman, who, on such errands, threw off his livery Jacket, to assume an old brown Coat cast off by his Master; and he was enjoined to point out to me the principal Ressorts where this Duty called him, after my Pigtail had been changed for a cropped head of hair, in order, as Mr. Jones wittily remarked, the People might not take me for a French Monkey imported on English ground.

And now, my Friend, view the contrast which so sudden a change created. Picture to yourself, a Youth dressed in embroidered and laced Cloathes, curled Head, *Chapeau bras*, solitaire and sword by his side, accompanied and introduced by his Tutor into the first assemblies, both public and private; taught by the attention of those frequenting them, almost to consider himself a Man; and behold the transition of the same youth, in a plain English frock, round hat, and hair cut close, trudging after a footman, in all weathers, through the streets of London! The disgust which followed was natural. I seized the first moment of well grounded discontent to absent myself. I took refuge at an Aunt's of mine, whence my Father was apprized with my determination to return to Switzerland, or to avail myself of the Friends in the East India Direction, which my Uncle, recently departed, Mr. John Payne, Chairman in Lord Clive's Government, had left, and to embark for that Country in some station to seek my fortune. Unhappily for me, my Father did not live to justify his Friend's conduct, or to excuse his Son's.—A putrid fever, with which he was attacked, and for which the celebrated Tissot, imprudently, copiously bled him, soon carried him out of this world, and his circumstances not turning out so good as were expected, actuated me to adopt the alternative which I had proposed. In the interim of an opportunity occurring, I was sent to the village of Thornhill in Yorkshire, where I boarded at a *Mrs. Pollard's*, Mother of a Clerk in Mr. Jones's House, and attended the Clergyman of the Parish, to qualify myself for my destination, by perfecting myself in the English language. I was kindly treated, and a Welch Poney being allowed me, I soon joined with the neighbouring Hunts, and was much noticed by some Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Environs, who had experienced, when on their Travels on the Continent, the civility and the hospitality of my Father's cheerful Board. I could not be more happily situated; however I could not but deeply feel the blow which had, so early in life, befallen me, by the premature deaths of my Father and Uncle, within two months of each other.—After passing a few months in this manner, I was removed to Greenwich Academy, where, under the tuition of Doctor Bracken, I was to learn Gunnery, Fortification, and Mathematics, my Friends having determined on a Military life for my career, apprehending, as they expressed, the vivacity and fire which I displayed, were qualifications not suitable to the gravity and sedateness requisite for a Desk, and a regular course of mercantile pursuits.

After a few months stay at this Academy, which has sent forth several shining Naval Characters, I was called to London, when, it was announced to me, that a Cadetship to Bencoolen awaited my acceptance. In this manner did Mr. Jones acquit himself towards his deceased Friend. Fortunately, my Aunt, Mrs. John Payne, had heard during her Husband's life, amongst those Gentlemen from India, whom, as a leading Director, he was in the habit of seeing and entertaining, that no climate in that region, could be compared to this mentioned, for its peculiar insalubrity. Indignant against Mr. Jones, for his unfeeling conduct, the good old Lady ordered her carriage, took me with her to the India House, and had my nomi-

nation changed for Bengal. Accordingly, in the month of January, 1766, on board of the Lord Camden, Captain Nathaniel Smith, did I embark, tolerably equipped at my Mother's expence, under the Captain's immediate care, and having his Table, with good Letters of recommendation, to deliver on my arrival in India. I embarked at Gravesend, and found myself accommodated, with eleven Writers, each with a standing bed in the great Cabin, not one of which Gentlemen, excepting Mr. John Makepeace Thackeray of Hadley, is now (1802) living. Our Voyage was pleasant. We touched at Johanna, coming in there the same day with Captain Thomas Bates Rous, commanding the Britannia East Indiaman; scarcely had we been at anchor, than, an anxiety to set my foot on land, induced me to avail myself of a Canoe, which was alongside, to go on shore, in which were already seated three of my comrades. We pushed off, the people making signs to us not to move, and they would bring us safe, but a panic seizing one of the Bengal Writers, Mr. Mitchell, son of the then Secretary of the India House, he rose up, and the Canoe from the rolling filling, we were in the utmost hazard of our lives, neither of us knowing to swim, and feeling so terrified from being in the water, that those seamen, who plunged instantaneously into the sea, to our assistance, from the Ship, incurred the greatest danger. I recollect grasping by the throat the first who laid hold of me, and would infallibly have been the cause of his death and my own, had not his superior strength enabled him to throw me off. I thus went down a second time, when he, dexterously swimming around me, bore me up, as I had again arisen, and swam with me to the Ship's boat, which, happily, was very near. I came on board, pretty well soused, and so confused, that I barely heard the reprimand the Captain was pleased to give me and my companions for our rashness.—With this I should not have been dissatisfied. Young as I was, I could make allowances for the responsibility which attached on the Captain, from having so many boys committed to his peculiar trust by the parents of each individual, and, consequently, I could form a judgment, what would have been his feelings, had it pleased Providence, that he should have had to relate the misfortune, which, but for its gracious interposition, might have befallen four of them. But, when I recovered, I felt greatly hurt, by the Captain grudging to let me have ten Spanish Dollars, to present my deliverer with, out of the pocket money which was given to him in charge, and to pay to me, when I came on shore in India. We remained in this pleasant Island three weeks, the Captains of both Ships vying with each other, which should entertain the best. At one of these feasts, a trial of my temper was made. A Gentleman, Cadet in our Ship, of the name of Macpherson, who had been a Lieutenant in a disbanded Regiment, after the seven years war, was the person fixed on, and, at once, bringing on the topic of the oversetting of the Canoe, ascribed it to my cowardice.—His age and stature, had not, however, the effect of affrighting me; I plainly told him, he lied, and defied him to a proof of my courage on the following morning. The challenge was accepted, seconds appointed, and the meeting secretly took place; however, to keep up the better the farce intended, the Captains of the Ships, who we all looked up to as superior beings, laid their injunctions on us, on pain of their severe displeasure, not to fight. It may be presumed, what the result was, when the parties were, a boy, and a huge big man of full thirty. Our pistols, apparently under great form and studied delay, loaded carefully by our seconds, contained only powder. My second contended in my behalf, that I should have the advantage of the first shot; but, after a great deal of parleying discussion, within our hearing, to all appearance reluctantly yielded, upon the plea held out by the other, that my offence had been adequate, the fire direct, being said, to be inexcusable.—We fired by signal together, and, naturally, neither of our shots having been murderous, the seconds stepped in, and rejoicing that no blood had been spilled, expressed a hope the matter could be made up, without exposing

posing either of our valuable lives to further risque. I was addressed first, and asked, if I would apologize for the great offence which I had given, to which I directly replied, I would willingly, provided my opponent would retract his charge.—This being assented to, the parties were loudly called to quit their ground, and, supported by each of their seconds, advanced towards one another, uttered what had been agreed upon, and ended the amusement, which, I may say, had been held at my sole expence, the other, of course, being in the secret, by shaking of hands.

When, in process of time, I was made acquainted with the essay which had been practised on my disposition during the Passage, I could not but highly blame a person of Macpherson's experience to have joined in it, and particularly one, whose situation in the Military line fully rendered him aware of the delicacy felt by men of his profession on such points; yet, I regretted him sincerely as a worthy good man, when I learnt, he had fallen a sacrifice to the fatigue of the Campaign which he endured, being with Colonel Peach's Bengal Detachment, serving in the Carnatic under General Joseph Smith, in the War which in 1767 had been undertaken by the Presidency of Madras against Hyder Aly.

On our way from Johánna to Madras, nothing occurred remarkable, excepting the death of one of the Cabin Passengers, Mr. Ray, a Bengal Writer, who was carried off quickly by a violent fever.—This young man was one of Lord Sandwich's sons, from his illegitimate connection with the famous Miss Ray; and, when I reflect on the accomplishments of Ray's mind, I may say, I never, in my observation, met with one who felt so repugnant to the source from whence he sprang. Instead of glorying, as others, with less strong feelings, might have done, in being the son of a noble Earl, then a Minister of State, being first Lord of the Admiralty, and whose influence at the India House, had procured for him a Writership, he appeared truly debased and chagrined, if the most distant allusion, without even the smallest intention, reminded him of, either his connection by birth, or by Patronage. Coeval with such sentiments, I am sure, he regretted not his premature death, for although in the bloom of life, with the fairest hopes of fortune and advancement, his settled melancholy bespoke his thoughts, and he parted with life, without a sigh!—I was much afflicted by this unexpected demise. Mr. Ray had early distinguished me amongst our other companions; and from our juvenile unreserved communications, of the various relations and expectations of each, seemed to harbour an idea, that, what he owed to Patronage, had been a sacrifice in his favor to a debt of gratitude. In effect, Mr. Jones was the Director who had nominated him, upon Lord Sandwich's application, and the conditional return was, which existed fully in his conception, he being then twenty years old, and well informed, Mr. Jones's admission to a Seat for the Borough of Huntingdon, the Representation of which City was then divided between His Grace the Duke of Manchester and the Sandwich interest, and besides this, Mr. Jones bargained for a Seat in the Trinity House, of which the last mentioned Nobleman was the Governor.—To occasion, and ground the above conclusion, I had imparted, that it was through my Father's intercession with Mr. John Payne, Mr. Jones had obtained a Seat in the East India Direction, a fact well known in those days.

We anchored at Madras on the 2d of June, and waiting the 3d on the Governor, Mr. Palk, who, from being Chaplain to that Establishment, had been selected from his superior abilities, to succeed Lord Pigot in the Government, were invited by him to celebrate His Majesty's Birth-day, on the day following.—The Dinner, Ball, Illumunations, Fireworks, and the general brilliancy of dress and decorations which reigned, impressed my mind, that, what I had read on the Passage, relative to the magnificence prevailing in India, was not exaggerated.

We sojourned a fortnight at this Port, whence we shaped our course for Bengal, and taking a Pilot on board in Balasore Roads, proceeded up the River, and, from Culpee, where the Hon. Company's Ships then usually anchored, embarked in a Budgerow for Calcutta, which we came to on the 26th of June. I was here well received by those to whom I had the honor of being recommended. Lord Clive, particularly, spoke of my deceased Uncle, Mr. Payne, with affection and respect, but lamented my youth did not permit him, so soon to entrust me with a Commission, adding graciously, that he should send me up to join the 2d Brigade, which stood on the roll for Field service, and enjoin its Commanding Officer, if he saw propriety of conduct, and attention to my duty, to seize the first occasion of putting me in orders to act as an Ensign.

This Nobleman, the Founder of the English Empire and glory in India, had just returned from the Upper Provinces, where, by uncommon firmness, and the determined spirit which he displayed throughout this trying scene, quelled and corrected that tendency to distress the Government and force it to compliance, which the Officers, by entering into an act of general resignation, hoped therefrom to effect. Some of these Gentlemen were brought to trial, and their Commissions forfeited; others were sent to England, without the form of being arraigned on specific charges before a Military Tribunal; and the most meritorious had their errors pardoned, and their Commissions returned, the Governor refusing to accept them, and denouncing such, who hesitated to resume their stations, to be in a mutinous state; His Lordship observing, that this mode which he had adopted, pleasingly gave him the opportunity of weeding the Army of some bad subjects, who had crept in since the period of his first Government in Bengal as Colonel Clive.

When characters are appreciated after the lapse of party prejudice, those of Clive and Dupleix will shine amongst the brightest, whose scene of action was on Indian Territory. They early discerned the Field which opened itself for active enterprise, from the dissolution of the Mogul Empire, and the distracted Governments of those Princes, who had shaken off and assumed in their own persons the Imperial authority.—Each of these Politicians contended for their respective Nation's Sovereignty; but Clive was the Hero, who effectually established it, and, with the view of rendering it permanent, knew to prescribe just and prudent limits to its extension.

In the cession of Provinces which he acquired for the English Nation, he set their bounds to the River Carumnassah; in the same spirit he re-instated the Nawab Vizier Shujah ul Dhowlah into the Dominions which his arms had conquered, requiring only from him the transfer of the Fort of Allahabad, with a suitable Jagheer for the maintenance of the Successor to Timur, and to which he added a certain Pension, or Tribute rather, (since it was given in consideration of the cession of the Dewannee of the Company's Provinces, viz. Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa) from the East India Company, of six-and-twenty Lacks of Rupees per annum. In carrying these points into execution, his expanded mind had in contemplation the converting of a warlike Prince into a generous and useful Ally, by the restitution of his Territories, and, in concert with him, to retain the Mogul, on whom they conjointly had conferred a splendid Establishment, within the sphere of their own observation and management.

Nor will it be forgotten his manifest disinterestedness in fixing a certain limit to his fortune.—Never was a truer word spoken than, when, in his memorable defence in the House of Commons, standing up in his place as a Member of it, to vindicate his fair fame of a foul impeachment, he boldly avowed what he had received in presents, asserting he might have had more, but that he thought it requisite to reject the liberality

nality of the Indian Princes, when the magnitude of their offers exceeded, what he considered would have raised him to a situation too rich for a Subject.—To evince a proof of this magnanimity, he adduced the Legacy left to him, out of pure friendship and grateful recollection for services rendered, which the Nawab Meer Jaffier assigned to him in his Testament, and this occurring, when His Lordship was in Europe, and his local power had ceased.—Lord Clive completely alienated this sum (Sixty Thousand Pounds Sterling) out of his, and the reach of his Heirs and Successors for ever, by creating it into a Fund, under the inspection of the East India Company, to serve for the Widows of Officers who had gloriously contributed their share to the advancement of his prosperity.—And, after exhibiting this testimony, and others, in full refutation of such unjust aspersions, as a Burgoyne (the Hero of Saratoga in the American War) and other envious Detractors had thrown out against him, he concluded, quitting the House, with that truly Ciceronical Peroration, "exhorting the Members, that, whilst they judged of his honor, not to lose sight of their own."

In the month of September, 1766, I was in orders to proceed up the Country with a Detachment of Recruits, for the three Brigades, under the command of the late Colonel James Hannay, then Captain Hannay, who, as well as myself, had recently arrived from Europe. Lord Clive was good enough to recommend me to this Gentleman, and I experienced from him every attention during his temporary authority.

Arrived at Bankypore, then the Cantonment of the second Brigade, I was introduced by him to the late General Richard Smith, then the Colonel thereof. This Brigade took the Field soon after, repairing to the banks of the Carumnassah, and was there stationed at hand, to assist our Ally the Nawab Vizier Shujah al Dhowlah, had the Afghau Prince Abdallah Khan put his threats into execution, of invading the former's Dominions, and subsequently, in the event of success, conformable to the first design, the Provinces ceded to the Company.

After bearing a Soldier's musket on the line of March, constantly attending the mock sieges and battles, which took place in our fixed encampment on the borders of the River abovementioned, the Colonel was pleased to accede to the wishes expressed to him in my behalf by Lord Clive, and I suddenly found myself rewarded for the activity and diligence which I had displayed, in unremitting attentiou to my duty, by being nominated to act as Ensign.

We returned soon after to Cantonments, where I had the gratification of seeing myself confirmed, by a Commission of Ensign, signed by His Lordship on the 4th of September. This early mark of approbation actuated my zeal, and for three years that I served in the European Regiment, under the celebrated Martinet, the late Colonel Gilbert Ironside, I can equally vouch, my constant perseverance in the readiest obedience to my superiors, acquired me new Friends, and the esteem of the Commanding Officer of the Brigade, then Colonel Charles Chapman, in whose Family I lived, and acted as Assistant Secretary to his Staff Establishment.

In this period, nothing of any importance locally occurred. The Army, at my entrance into the service, was composed of three Brigades, one stationed at the Presidency, another midway at Berhampore, and the farthest station extended only to Bankypore. Each Brigade consisted of one European Regiment, six Battalions of Sepoys, and a proportion of Artillery, with one hundred black Horse, and the highest rank enjoyed for such a command, was that of a Colonel.—Besides these, there were in different Cities of the three Provinces, Militia Sepoys, under the name of Pergunnah.—These served for the purpose of guarding the Treasuries,

Treasuries, where Civilians were fixed to provide the Honorable Company's Investment, and to escort the fleets of boats, which conveyed the goods from distant Ports to the Presidency.

In the Carnatic, the War with Hyder Aly was terminated by General Joseph Smith, in 1768,—who conducted it with that Military ability, which acquired an encreased reputation to the British Troops; and Colonel Peach, who had commanded the Detachment of Europeans and Sepoys which had been supplied from Bengal, returned this year, with every credit due to him as an Officer, who had won his first laurels in America, under Wolfe, the immortal Conqueror of Quebec.

Our Cantonments, in 1767, took fire, and such was the rapidity with which the thatched Bungalows burnt, that scarcely an Officer had one moment to save any thing of his equipment.—The Government, with that liberality, consistent to men vested with such a trust, required, upon honor, a statement from each Officer of his loss, and every one was reimbursed, according to the stated amount.

This accident gave rise to the erection of Barracks, both at Dynapore and Burhampore, and the grand scale on which these were formed, entailed such an expence on the Hon. Company, and sunk such a capital, as to have caused them to regret, that the double full Batta had been struck off by Lord Clive, instead of being continued in the Field, and the full Batta preserved in the Company's Provinces, conditionally, that each Officer found his own Quarters.

In 1768, I was detached to the Presidency with Captain Catlyn, Lieutenants Lumsdaine and Fairfax, to bring up the Recruits arrived from Europe. The latter of these gentlemen was my junior, being a Cadet of 1767, as I had been advanced in the beginning of the year to the rank of Lieutenant.

I mentioned Colonel Ironside's character as a Martinet, but, at this distance of time, although he is no longer alive, I revere his memory as an Officer, nor, in my observation, have I ever seen a man so capable to bring up young men, to a sense and knowledge of their duty.—His particularities were a matter of jest in those days, but reflection has fully confirmed me in the propriety of a Commanding Officer having every Officer in his Regiment, from the Major to the youngest Ensign, fitted for command. To the latter was enjoined by him, the having the exercise and evolutions written out, and, after a certain given time, it was expected and often practised, that every Officer should, when called out at a moment's warning, evince his capacity in manœuvring the Regiment, so well as the oldest Veteran in it, bearing a Commission.

An incident befell him, which is too ludicrous, though characteristic of the National character, not to be related. In one of the mock battles we were performing in the Field, the late Colonel Arthur Ahmuty had assigned to him the command of a wing, and on his corps was the lot fixed, to break and disperse at a certain signal. This order was repeated to him by Colonel Ironside's Aide de Camp, whom he gravely requested to bear his respects to the Colonel, desiring some other selection might be made for the execution of such a manœuvre, for his part he must decline it, as Arthur Ahmuty had never, nor would ever, turn his back and fly from the enemy.—This disconcerted, of course, the operations and field of action for that day, and occasioned a general laughter; however, I am convinced, the offender was so perfectly grounded in his principles of a Soldier, as never to have felt the ridicule which attached on this singularity of behaviour. In short, he considered it a stigma, and no one could have dissuaded him, that, had he complied, the application of it would have been marked as just.

In the latter end of 1760, our Brigade was ordered to exchange with that which had held for three years the

the station of Berhampore, and there, soon after our arrival, I had the honor of mounting General Smith's guard, when he took the opportunity of praising my conduct, which had been reported to him by Colonel Chapman, and pleasingly announced his intention of removing me to his Brother's Battalion of Sepoys, Major John Smith, stationed at Benares, a situation then most desirable for a Subaltern.

I had not long to await the performance of his voluntary promise. I found myself the next day in orders, and within one month I had joined my destination. Here commenced my intimacy with Mr. Thomas Motte, a man whose philanthropy, thorough acquaintance with India, diversity of historical anecdote, general knowledge, and information, joined to a chearful and sociable disposition, with the truest hospitality, rendered him one of the most pleasing companions within my experience. To our society were soon added the present Major General William Palmer, and Colonel Patrick Hay, characters well known, and held in just estimation by those who had the happiness of associating with them. These compensated for the loss we sustained in the removal of the late General Edward Rawstorne, then called from the Battalion, to his promotion of a Captain in the European Regiment. In Mr. Motte's chosen Library, I met a source of content, and, assisted by his kind remarks in my studies, I improved considerably, in continuing by my own application, that System of Education which had been planned for me, and from which I felt conscious to have been too soon ejected.

Lieutenant Rawstorne's promotion brought me to be the eldest Lieutenant in the Battalion; and however much younger than the other Gentlemen doing duty with me, yet I can with self satisfaction recollect, that no tone of authority was assumed, neither was any improper superiority ever manifested. We lived like brothers of one family, and never had a dissention one with the other.

The station of this Battalion, with the reserve of the two Battalions kept at Allahabad as a guard for His Imperial Majesty, was the first encroachment beyond the Boundaries fixed by Lord Clive for the Honorable Company's territorial Possessions.—The ostensible reason assigned, was the necessity of such a Corps to awe the Nawab Shujah ul Dhowlah's Mahomedan Cutwal, or Magistrate of the City, against any sordid intentions on the treasures of the rich Hindoo Bankers, established for centuries in that sacred City;—and, in the event of any design, to interfere with the independence of the Zemindar, Rajah Bulwuntsing, declared in Lord Clive's Treaty with the King and Vizier, an independent Prince, under the Guarantee of the East India Company, to assist the latter immediately, in taking possession of the strong Fortress of Chunarghur, then occupied by a few Troops of Shujah ul Dhowlah, commanded by a Siddee, or Abyssinian, men, of all others, considered by the Mahomedan Princes of India as deserving of the most implicit trust. Nevertheless, those who saw deeper into the real views of this measure, adjudged the real cause to be, for superintending the recoinage in the Nabob's Mint, of the twenty-eight Lacks of Sunnat Rupees, being Rupees annually struck in the Honorable Company's Mint of Moorshedabad, which were forwarded from thence to Benares, and ere they reached the Royal Residence, were converted and debased into a new coin denominated Vizieree, which Specie was then, under the protection of a strong guard from the Battalion, conveyed and paid to His Majesty and Nujuff Khan, viz. twenty-six Lacks to the former, and two Lacks to the latter. The Sunnats undergoing this sweating and recoinage, produced to the operators a benefit of at least twenty per Cent.

Lord Clive, and General Carnac, quitted India in February, 1767,—leaving the Government to Mr.

Verelst, and the command of the Army to General Richard Smith. They, after a period of three years, quitted their trusts to Mr. Cartier and General Sir Robert Barker.

In the character of Mr. Verelst, so long as genuine worth is respected, his fame as a just Governor, will be, so well as his able treatise on revenue and landed property, handed down to posterity. In General Smith there existed every virtue and honorable principle, combined with traits, which lessened the sway which his virtues bore, and rendered him an object of ridicule. His origin was low, and the rank and fortune which he rose to in life, may be estimated, in the chapter of accidents, as marvellous.—Sensible of the bountiful talents which nature had bestowed, he considered these, when displayed by a powerful mind, might tend to throw a veil on his extraction, and cause it altogether to be forgotten.—With those, whom it did not affect, it certainly met with that distinction, but with others, whom it did, they could not pass over an arrogance of superiority so unwarranted.—India was not the scene alone where such follies were manifested, but even, and nevertheless the taunts and correction, which never failed to accompany the instance, there were some reserved, and acted upon in England.

The present Mr. William Lushington, Member of Parliament, was his Persian Interpreter, when, on a visit to the Nawab Vizier Shujah ul Dhowlah, one of the most accomplished Princes, and proud of his birth and rank, General Smith desired Mr. Lushington, to apologize that he had brought His Highness no presents of European curiosities of exquisite workmanship, every thing of this sort which he had provided having been sunk with his boats in a storm on the River Ganges. The mode and address, "Tell Shujah, Lushington," evidently made their impression on the Prince, who sarcastically observed, the General could not have brought a greater curiosity than himself, and sagaciously complimented his escape from the fury of the waves. This, Mr. Lushington dexterously interpreted, by saying, that the Prince's joy was perfect in the happiness alone of seeing the General; but with the byestanders, this obvious tendency lost not its effect.

In the County of Berkshire, it will long be remembered, that, scarcely had General Smith been vested with the office of High Sheriff, than he called a County Meeting, and when the object was made known, it excited the surprise of the Noblemen and Gentlemen convened, that the purport alone was to obtain their sanction for a road, to be cut through their fields and property, calculated for his sole convenience, in order he might arrive at his magnificent Seat of Chilton Lodge, without the necessity of passing through the little stinking Town of Hungerford. It is needless to add, such a proposition met with its deserved reprobation.

Another anecdote quoted of him in those days, is a proof that plebeian insolence, however supported by fortune and abilities, little assimilates with aristocratic rank and pride, even where title is debased by the most unchecked profligacy.—The story told in the circles of fashion, was the following. General Smith came in rather late into one of the Gaming Houses in the vicinity of St. James', and finding no company, went to sleep on one of the sofas, cautioning the waiter not to wake him, unless some fellow, or other, came in, who had spirit enough to throw a main at hazard for three thousand Guineas.—Lord Littleton, of notorious memory, entered the house with some drunken companions. singing the hunting song of "*Age and youth urged the chace, and taught woodlands and forests to roar.*"—The message being literally delivered, his Lordship accepted the challenge, and directing the General to be awoke, continued his song, converting the words into a parody consistent with the General's wishes:

"*Seven's*

"*Seven's the main, seven says* DICK,
"*Eleven is the Nick,*
"*And the man is lost in something divine.*"

"Good night, General," walking out, and pocketing the Rouleaus and Bank Notes, with a full laughter from his Lordship, and his dissipated comrades, at the General's expence and consummate folly.

From the worst side of the Picture, let us now turn to the best. His generosity in throwing in one hundred and fifty thousand pounds of Bank Notes, to support the Banking House of the Drummonds, at a time when an unexpected run was made on it, owing to the failure in 1772, of the Houses of Fordyce and Sir George Colebrooke, and to this, prompted merely from a recollection of the Heads of that House, having given him in his youth, occasionally one Half Crown, when sent by his Father with Bills of acceptance, was so conspicuous a trait of noble minded conduct, as to have inspired the successors to that eminent Banking House with everlasing gratitude.

Nor will it ever be effaced from the sense which every Officer bore to the disinterested exertions of the General, in opposing the Honorable Court of Directors constant promptitude, in obliging the Ministers, by acceding to their frequent recommendations, in appointing King's Officers to supersede the Company's. Various cases could be adduced, when General Smith calling these nominations in question, by summoning them to be canvassed before a General Court of Proprietors, compelled them, by a decision of the latter, *to annul* and rescind their said partialities.

Equally will a just tribute remain of the wisdom which governed him, when determined on devoting his services to Parliamentary duties.—Conscious of his education not having afforded him the advantage of the knowledge of the Classics, and however advanced in life, he felt the necessity of being acquainted therewith, ere he could adventure as a Speaker in the House.—He accordingly entered himself for the two following Summers a Gentleman Commoner at Oxford, and applied with such success, as in that short time to have attained to such a proficiency, that his Speeches, and quotations, both from Roman and Grecian Literature, manifestly displayed the Scholar and the Gentleman.

In the confinement of his person was displayed the rigour of the House of Commons, when bent on an exertion of its fullest power.—The General had stood for the notorious corrupt Borough of Hendon, and an electioneering Agent had actively, in the character of Punch, scattered amongst the Electors profusely the General's Guineas, in the hope of his Patron's election being secured by dint of money. The Members destined by the Treasury for Representatives of this Borough, were ousted by this manœuvre; they impeached the validity of the election, and supported by the Minister of the day, then Lord North, the General's return to Parliament was declared void, and several actions for bribery having been in consequence instituted, the General was severely bled in his Purse, besides the conviction having been brought home to him of corrupt practices to influence the honest Electors, the House expressed their sense of such conduct, by sentencing him to a fine and imprisonment for six months.—This the General submitted to, and in the King's Bench, so far as splendid living went in a Prison, with every liberality to his fellow sufferers, it may be recorded of him, that he manifested the wealth, generosity, and Princely spirit of a Nabob.

So conspicuous did he render himself, that, with other celebrated Characters of that period, he could not well

well have escaped the lash of the modern Aristophanes, the late Samuel Foote. In his Comedy of the Nabob, the General was the Hero, under the name of Sir *Matthew Mite*, and so well did the General recognize in the Representation the follies which he had been guilty of, that he was the first to laugh at the Author bringing him on the Stage; but expressed a slight indignation, that in some passages there were oblique attacks on his moral character, which objection, those who knew and appreciated his worth, were sensible, that his exception to the piece was founded in truth.

After a stay of above one year at Benares, the Battalion was directed on a sudden to reinforce the Garrison of Allahabad, an alarm having arisen of a designed attack on our Ally the Nabob Shujah ul Dhowlah's Dominions.—Here, Colonel Primrose Galliez commanded the two Battalions of Sepoys, with a proportion of Artillery, as a guard to His Majesty. We remained stationary some months, when our Corps was ordered to protect the new Lines which had been recently erected at Cawnpore; whence I was detached with one hundred Sepoys to oppose five thousand armed Fakeers, who were reported to intend forcing a Ghaut or Ferry, and crossing the Ganges, effect their usual depredations in the Nabob's Territories.—Their intention was frustrated by timely precaution, and however ambitious I felt to distinguish myself, yet, I must own, I was not sorry for their voluntary dispersion, as I left the Lines impressed, from the number reported, and the known reputation for personal courage in these bodies of men, that the odds against the hope of success of my small corps in action with them, would be tremendous to encounter.

The apprehension which had caused our march to Cawnpore having subsided, we were ordered to return to Allahabad, soon after which, I was compelled to leave the pleasing society of this Garrison with regret, however flattered, as I could not help feeling, of having been selected, with so very few years experience, yet, for the discharge of an important trust.* This was, a detached command of three Companies of Sepoys, directed to encamp opposite the Fort of Chunar, and in the event of the Nabob Shujah ul Dhowlah meditating any encroachment on the Zemindary of Rajah Bulwuntsing, the independency of which was guaranteed by our Government, and marching any troops to accomplish such purpose, I was in such a case, of which the judgement and sole responsibility laid with me, to cross the River Ganges, and possess myself in the best and speediest manner of this strong Fortress.

These instructions were known, or probably only conjectured, from the position assumed by the troops which I commanded, and the known communication which I had in the Garrison, with an old Invalid Serjeant, who was stationed there with the Nabob's permission, and a small guard under him, for the protection of a Granary and Military Stores, placed there as a safe and near Depot for our troops acting in the Upper Provinces.—The suggestion, however, was sufficient for designing men to act upon, who wished for nothing better than to involve the Company with another War against Shujah ul Dhowlah;—the riches of whose Country, with his own accumulated treasures, were in their contemplation. I had, in consequecce, men from all quarters, and in respectable situations, volunteering a correspondence with me, and all their letters were to the purport of creating suspicions in my mind.—These I defeated, by allowing none of these evil counsels to operate. I had confided the delicacy and nature of my situation to an intimate friend, and one of my early protectors, the late General Anthony Polier, an honest Swiss, and a highly upright and enlightened mind, who was allowed to reside at the Court of the Nabob of Lucknow. I knew his probity, and perfectly sensible he cherished too much the interests of both Governments

* Vide Appendix A.

Governments to involve them in a hazardous and precarious War with each other, I rested secure against every alarm given, and had fully resolved, never to put my troops in motion, until I should learn from this much valued friend, that the Dæmon of Ambition, assisted by his wicked imps, had succeeded with the Nabob in determining him to resume the independent Territory ceded, in the Peace made by Lord Clive, to Rajah Bulwuntsing.

During my command the Rajah died, and his Successor Rajah Cheytsing was invested with the same privileges without any trouble arising; although the Brigade at Dinapore was kept for some time in orders to march, upon the idea thought proper to be entertained, and the sanguine wish it should prove grounded, of the Nabob intending to oppose the succession. Affirmative questions were conveyed to me on this occasion, which disappointed those sighing for plunder, when they found them uniformly answered in the negative, and the tidings of the tranquil change which had taken place, having surprised the Political and Military Chiefs in Bahar, viz. the Chief of Patna, and the Officer commanding the Brigade stationed at Dinapore, they were, much to their sorrow, obliged at last to countermand the order for the troops to be ready to take the Field at a moment's warning.

The Nabob's pacific disposition, and firm adherence to the Treaty, having been proved by the undisturbed succession which he allowed to take place, the continuation of my command was thought would carry an appearance of suspicion, and I was consequently ordered to join the Corps at Allahabad. We continued there only a few months longer, and in the rains of 1772 the Battalion was directed to join the Brigade, of which it formed a part, at Mongheer.

In the summer of this year, the old King, tired of the inactive life which he led, and fully persuaded that the English Government had only buoyed him up with idle assurances to move in his behalf to Delhy, threw himself into the arms of the Mahrattah Prince Mahadagee Scindiah, who had flattered him with the hope of re-ascending the Throne of his Ancestors, and reviving the splendor of the Imperial House of Timur. Instead of our Government opposing, as policy dictated, such a measure, the placid Mr. Cartier, then Governor, with a Council as inefficient as himself, qualified it with approbation, and in token thereof, enjoined the Commander in Chief, General Sir Robert Barker, with the two Battalions which had long served as a guard to His Imperial Majesty, and the expence of which was defrayed by him, to accompany the latter to the border of the Nabob Vizier's Dominions, who had, in vain, exerted every nerve with our Government to deter its sanction, and who, deprecating the change, evidently predicted what would be its result.

His Majesty certainly reassumed his deserted Throne, but it was only to serve as a Puppet in the hands of the Mahrattas, and of that crafty Prince Scindiah, who carried his views for plunder so far, as to cause His Majesty to sign a Deed, delegating to him the power of calling on the Bengal Government for payment of the arrears of the Chout (or a fourth part of the Territorial Revenue), a Tribute which former Nabobs of Bengal had disgracefully submitted to pay, previous to the Company's acquisition of the Dewannee, conditionally that the Rajahs of Berar and Cutack should refrain from invasion.

Happily, for the security of the Company's Government, Mr. Hastings was transferred from second in Council at Madras to the Chair of Bengal. His penetrating genius immediately saw the error which his Predecessor had committed; but no longer able to remedy it in *tôtô*, he contented himself, by giving a spirited and positive denial to the demand, and withdrawing for the future the payment of the Pension, which

the Government had paid to the Emperor and his Minister Nujuff Khan, and which the weak Administration, to which his firm one succeeded, had manifested the complaisance of continuing.

Little did this great character then think, that for this meritorious act, which every Company's Servant viewed to have been founded on maxims of the soundest policy and justice, he would be arraigned at the Bar of the House of Peers some years afterwards; the ingenious Committee of the House of Commons, who, to their disgrace, carried on this impeachment, having devised this sum, which not only proved an annual saving to the Company, but likewise diminished, in so much as its amount, the resources of the enemy, as one of the acts of high crimes and misdemeanors, which the immortal Warren Hastings had committed during his Government, constituting in every impartial local mind, a brilliant period of thirteen years duration.

Arrived at Mongheer, after a wearisome march, which had severely shaken my constitution, I was earnestly recommended by the Faculty, to take a trip to Europe, where only a radical cure appeared to them probable to be effected. Compelled, much to my vexation, to follow their prescription, I quitted the Brigade, and resigning the service, as no temporary leave of absence could then, agreeably to established regulations, be granted, I gave up the Military service in March, 1773, and embarked on board the Marquis of Rockingham, Captain Alexander Hamilton, for England.

I should have noticed, that in the period of my residence at Chunar, the Company's Provinces were visited with a famine, and, I am sorry to add, only in part natural. At this distance of time, if any are alive who aggravated the calamity, what must their compunction be, in the reflection, of thousands having perished, from the want of that succour, which sordid gain had caused them to withhold from the famished breast of the old man, the widow, and her child!

The cries of hunger had, however, reached the ears of Leadenhall street, and the aggravators, I will not call them the authors, of that misery, would have been by the Directors called to a severe account, but, fortunately for them, if, to exist with wealth so acquired, can be estimated a blessing, all enquiry was buried in the deep, by the loss of the three Supervisors nominated for India, viz. Governor Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Ford, who perished, according to the most probable conjectures, in the Mosambique Channel, from an obstinacy of character, which the Commander, Captain Lee, of His Majesty's frigate the Aurora, had displayed at the Cape, persisting in the resolution which he had formed, contrary to every experienced man's advice given, and, equally it was reported, against the wishes of those Gentlemen, who were sensible of the dangers, which in that season, viz. from December to March, they would have to encounter of sudden and violent storms in that sea.

In this ship was to be deplored likewise the loss of Mr. Falconer, the Author of the immortal Poem the Shipwreck, and of the Rev. Mr. Hirst the Astronomer, of equal respectable memory, who had from Madras transmitted to the Royal Society such just and important observations on the Transit of Venus over the Sun, on June 6, 1761, and subsequently when the second Transit occurred, viz. on June 3, 1769, equally displayed his proficiency in this science, as one of the then Assistants to the Astronomer Royal at Greenwich.

On my way from Mongheer to the Presidency, I met the mercantile fleet of the Commander in Chief, who, preferring a mode more honorable for the acquisition of fortune, reserved to himself the supplying and cloathing of the Nabob Shujah ul Dhowlah's troops, and sparing to His Highness, for the furniture of his Palaces, rich Europe hangings, and elegant ornaments with choiced paintings.

During

During the three months which I spent at the Presidency, previous to embarkation, I lived with my much valued friend, already mentioned by name and character, the late General Anthony Polier.—Mr. Hastings had then commenced upon his Government, and knowing how to appreciate men of talent and conspicuous merit, he frequently honored my friend with his company in town, requiring of him, in return, to be constantly one of his guests in his garden house, where genuine hospitality, united to the most social and instructive conversation, reigned for those two days in the week, viz. the Saturday and Sunday, which were uniformly dedicated for this recreation.

In the enjoyment of such society, which was graced with the Ladies of the first fashion and beauty of the Settlement, I fell a convert to the charms of the celebrated Miss Sanderson; but, in vain, with many others, did I sacrifice at her shrine. This amiable woman became in 1776, the year of my return to India, the wife of Mr. Richard Barwell, who will long live in the remembrance of his numerous friends, who benefited from the means of serving them, which his eminent station so amply afforded him, and which, to do justice to his liberal mind, he never neglected the opportunity to evince, where the solicitation had with propriety been applied.—To this Lady's credit also may be recorded, that those who had been partial to her, were ever treated with esteem and gratitude. Much to their regret, the splendor of her situation lasted not long; the pain of child bearing, with the effects of the climate, brought, on a delicate constitution, a decay, which too soon removed this fair flower out of the world. Of all her sex, I never observed one who possessed more the art of conciliating her admirers, equal to herself. As a proof thereof, we met sixteen in her livery one public ball evening, viz. a pea green French frock, trimmed with pink silk and chained lace with spangles, when each of us, to whom the secret of her intended dress had been communicated, buoyed himself up with the hope of being the favored happy individual. The innocent deception which had been practised, soon appeared evident, and the man of most sense, was the first to laugh at the ridicule which attached on him. I recollect the only revenge which we exacted, was for each to have the honor of a dance with her; and as Minuets, Cotilions, Reels, and Country dances, were then in vogue, with ease to herself, she obligingly complied to all concerned, and in reward for such kind complaisance, we gravely attended her home, marching by the side of her Palankeen, regularly marshalled, in procession of two and two.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the passage, excepting the necessity which was felt of going into the Mauritius, in order to repair the damage which our ship had sustained by springing her foretop mast, in a violent gale of wind which we encountered in the latitude of this Island.—We found here Admiral de Ternay, Knight of Malta, the Governor, and abstracted from the injunctions laid on the Town Major, not to permit Colonel James Morgan, and Lieutenant George Francis Grand, to sleep on shore, nor to go into the Interior, or visit the Fortifications, we, and the rest of the passengers, were much indebted for the attentions, which the Governor and his Garrison vied with each other to shew to us during our stay.—The Irish Regiments of Walsh and Clare composed a part of this Garrison, and had been destined, as well as the Governor himself, to have gone to India, had the War been undertaken, which the Duke de Choiseul had projected, and which, not being approved of by Lewis the 15th, or rather rejected through the intrigues of the Monarch's Mistress, Madame du Barré, caused the removal and disgrace of this great Minister.—Mr. de Ternay's Naval reputation had been established by the conquest of the Island of St. John, at the termination of the seven years War, and assisted by the Military talents of the Marquis de Bussy, who was fixed upon for the command of the troops on this Expedition, the hopes of success which had been excited in

every

every one's mind were truly sanguine.—Our ears were in consequence *feasted* every day with the certainty of the destruction of the English Goverment in India, whenever, it was added, the King would, listening to good counsels, recall his Minister, and direct his att tion seriously to this object.

I, who knew that the character of the Frenchman was predominant in vanity, bore with such vain boasting without deigning an observation, but my friend Colonel Morgan could not readily excuse such a marked want of politeness to Officers in the English service, and Strangers entitled to hospitality and consideration.

We were much captivated with the beauty of the sex, in general, Brunettes, and very handsome. As an instance how well they preserve their looks, notwithstanding the fatigue of matrimony, I recollect dancing with a Lady who I had thought unmarried, and wishing to be reminded of her name the next morning, I enquired of our attendant, the Town Major, who told me I had been greatly mistaken in my idea, for the said Lady was the wife of the *Capitaine du Port*, (Harbour Master) to whom she had been married at the age of thirteen, and had already borne him six children.

Our Captain, whose name I have noticed was Hamilton, wished to have it understood by the passengers, that they were indebted for the attentions, which they had met with, to the name which he bore.—The son of a fisherman in the Orkneys, he had, when his good fortune in life had risen him to the station of Captain of an Indiaman, assumed the arms of the Hamilton family. These, being largely engraved on pieces of plate, and pompously displayed in one or two entertainments which he gave on board, induced him to consider, that he had impressed the French in the Island, with the certainty, of his being a near relation of the noble Duke's. Piqued, with such an inference, I mortified him by observing, that however they had certainly not omitted, to remark his armorial bearings were the same as those of the illustrious Peer alluded to, yet, they could not bring themselves to reflect, there was any affinity of blood, since the Captain spoke not one word of French, a language they, in their own conceit, deemed incompatible for a man of birth and education, not to have been instructed in, and acquired.

Our next Port homewards was St. Helena, in which, I saw nothing remarkable, but the avidity of the inhabitants to make a harvest of the passengers, and the folly displayed by one of the Council, who, being summoned, on the day the Purser and I met him, to deliberate, whether another bullock than the complement, which had early been allotted for the use of our ship should be granted, gravely observed, in reply to the Purser's impatience to know the result, that the decisions of Council were secret, until officially made known, and regularly transmitted by the Secretary to the person, who had solicited and actually been the cause of the meeting.

Arrived in London, I was well received by Mr. Jones, to whom my ever valued and much lamented friends Messrs. Edward and Réné Payne had intimated that I brought money, rank, and character with me, and which kind hearted friends welcomed my return to England with open arms.*—We landed at Dover on the 15th of September, and, in a Post Chaise and four, Colonel Morgan and myself were soon in the Capital, each of us expressing our wonder at the beauteous Scenery which diverted the eye, while traversing the whole of that fine County Kent, and concurring most happily in opinion, that nothing we had seen abroad approached in point of soil and richness to what old England afforded. Mr. Jones was on the eve of his departure for Bath, which expence he did not submit to with pleasure, however, his Physicians had assured him, the Bath waters would alone abate the disease, under which he labored.—He expressed an expectation of

* Vide Appendix B.

of seeing me there, observing jocosely, that purification was requisite to one who had been so many years suffering under a burning sun, and evidently, from the yellow tinge which my looks bore, been tanned by the heat.

Having sojourned a couple of months in London, and renewed old acquaintances of my family, I proceeded to Bath. In my way I stopped to pay my respects to my old Commander in Chief. General Richard Smith, where I found a Triumvirate of East Indian Nabobs, viz. himself, the late Sir Francis Sykes, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, all of them scheming where they could carry the weight of their purse, with certain effect, to triumph against old established families in getting returned for Members of Parliament. I before remarked, where the General's attempt had failed, and the punishment which ensued. Sir Francis, whose character was ever disposed to be so pliant as the Vicar of Bray's, contented himself with a quiet return for a Cornish Borough. Not so with Sir Thomas, whose contested election in that Parliament for Shaftesbury, entailed a heavy expence on him. Sir Francis had just purchased the magnificent Seat of the Fanes, at Basilden, in the same County, viz. Berkshire, in which General Smith's possession Chilton Lodge was situated, and the junction of these men created a powerful weight of interest.—Fewer men could have risen from such obscurity to such wealth. He was recognized as having been a menial servant of the Lascelles' in Yorkshire, where his reception, on his return from India, had contributed essentially to disgust him against assuming a figure in any part of the County, much less in the vicinity of his birth place, the village of Thornhill near Wakefield, where his father, a respectable old man, still kept a pot alehouse, and could not be persuaded to take down the sign, and change his mode of life, by forsaking old habits and *connections*, notwithstanding the independence and comfort which the riches of the son enabled him to proffer. Unhappily, for the latter, he forgot old school companions, and rejected their compliments with such ostentation and hauteur, as to have caused them to assemble in a body, and to have stoned him and servants out of the place, This scene, though acted at a distant spot from the Capital, yet became so public as to have reached the ears of Samuel Foote, who, glad of every opportunity of lashing the vices and follies of the age, introduced it in his Comedy the Nabob, being the humorous dialogue between the hero of the piece, Sir Matthew Mite, and his old school comrade Phil Putty, the glazier.

However the pleasures of Bath would have attracted me to remain some time longer, yet I could not refuse myself to the inviting offer, which Mr. Jones made to me of accompanying him to Town. His object was to secure me as a fourth person, in order he might have the Bath Fly to himself and company, which consisted of us two, the late Admiral Young, and Captain Palgrave, an old Commander of a ship, and one, for whom the interest of Mr. Jones had procured the rank of an elder Brother of the Trinity House. I mention these circumstances, because he was particular in detailing the quality of these Gentlemen, observing, that, though independent in fortune and station, yet were they not so imprudent as East Indians, to sacrifice much money for travelling, when they could, by joining for a coach, travel much cheaper, and equally as comfortable, as in post chaises and four.—We set off accordingly, and on this first day's journey, there was full room given for his remark. Sir Thomas Rumbold, whose figure and splendid living excelled every other family of that season at Bath, was a Candidate for the Government of Madras, and knowing the powerful interest which Mr. Jones commanded, he did not neglect one day, paying his court to him whilst there, and leaving it for town, on the same day.—Their manner of travelling was different; Mr. Jones with his made up company in a stage coach, and servants as outside passengers; Sir Thomas' family in a coach and six, drawn by his set of horses; Miss Rumbold and the French

Governante in one of his post chaises and four beautiful bays, besides the steward and butler out of livery on horseback, and full half a dozen servants handsomely mounted in rich liveries.—These equipages outstripped us on the road, and arriving first at the celebrated Castle Inn at Marlborough, commanded all the notice. This was sensibly felt by Mr. Jones, and soured his humor, until Sir Thomas having sent in a message, if he could have the honor of seeing Mr. Jones, caused a complete change in the waiter's countenance, and, from that moment. the passengers in the stage coach were a little more attended to. After a customary refreshment, we proceeded on our journey, and I cannot forget how these three misers, indulged themselves in calculating the Nabob's expences to town, and contemplating with self satisfaction the difference between theirs and his expence. In the same spirit, did Mr. Jones value himself, on the prudent caution which he had used, of not bringing his own horses to Bath, forage being there very dear, without an idea coming across his pleasing thoughts of œconomy, how often, at his advanced time of life, and weakly state of body, he had exposed his neck to danger, by riding hired horses, and when not able to mount a horse, equally by trusting to hired carriages.

No sooner had we reached London, then Mr. Jones pressed my departure to the Continent, where my mother and family still resided, entreating I would take charge of his grandson and heir, and leave him under my mother's charge, with directions to select for him such a Tutor as I had in my youth, to attend him privately, and likewise to accompany him to all the public lectures, which the Professors in the different branches of learning were in the habit of giving at Lausanne.

Mr. Jones' commands were law to me. I had communicated to him that the Faculty dissuaded me from following a military career, particularly in a hot climate, and he had assured me in consequence, that so soon as I returned from the Continent, he would take and introduce me to Lord Sandwich, and with His Lordship's interest and his own united, press on the Directors their request for my appointment as a Factor, on the Civil Establishment of Bengal. I acquiesced therefore in his immediate wish, and the boy being sent for from school, I was introduced to the parents, with whom, I observed, it bore hard, parting with their darling child. Mr. Jones was fully aware of its necessity. Resolved in himself, that the parents should hereafter be dependent on their son, for any ease or comfort, they might hope to derive, from the fortune which he intended to bequeath him, he foresaw the youth would be completely spoiled, if he did not provide for his obtaining an education, far from their reach or superintendence.

It is necessary to remark, that with the bounty of fortune, Mr. Jones had sucked in, progressively with the former, the seeds of ambition, and these were so deeply rooted, as to cause him to sacrifice an only daughter's happiness to the splendor of a title and coronet.—Lord Sandwich, his friend, was, at that juncture, one of the neediest Peers of Britain, whose pecuniary wants were occasionally supplied from Mr. Jones' Accompting House, and it was devised, between them, that his Lordship's eldest son, Lord Hinchinbrook, should repair the injuries of fortune, by giving his hand to Miss Jones, and receiving a handsome sum on his marriage, live with her upon the expectation of the whole of Mr. Jones' possession, on the latter's demise.—The young Lady, averse to such a barter, took time to consider of it, and being allowed to repair to Wakefield, where dwelt an early companion of her youth, Miss Milnes, soon discovered the blessing of freedom, and availed herself of it, by setting out on a matrimonial excursion, with a Lieutenant of a marching regiment there quartered, who knew perfectly the road to Gretna Green, where he conveyed his fair prize, and speedily made her his own.

It fell on the worthy Mr. Milnes, the friend and correspondent of Mr. Jones, to impart to him this sad event. The denunciations which followed may be easily surmised. In time, however, as violent anger seldom is lasting, the old Gentleman became, through the mediation and persuasion of friends, more pacified, though not thoroughly reconciled. His son in law therefore was purchased up to a Lieutenant Colonelcy, and at the period I formed his acquaintance, I found him vested with this rank in the first regiment of Horse Guards, and through his connection with the Chandos family, a Groom of the Bedchamber to His Majesty.—We soon commenced an intimacy, and this brought on confidential details of the old Gentleman's cruelty and obduracy towards them. One instance, in particular, was too curious not to have commanded my recollection.—It proved the eccentricity of Mr. Jones' disposition. Being at his Seat in Cambridgeshire, with his daughter and son in law, he suddenly felt that illness would prevent his attendance at the Assizes which were held at Huntingdon.—This plea was converted by the son in law into a conclusion, that avarice alone dictated the reluctance, to incur the expence of travelling there, and certainly, what followed, grounded but too firmly the latter's suggestion. Mr. Jones, complaining of ill health, desired Colonel Adeane to go and represent him, and make his excuse to Lord Sandwich, adding, there would be no necessity, for the Colonel as his Representative, to appear with the figure which himself, as one of the Town Members of Parliament, would have done, could he, as upon other occasions, at this, have been present; that such an expectation, if held, would be preposterous for an Officer in the Army;—That therefore he had only to ride there, a distance of twenty-five miles, and return, as soon as possible, without stopping on the road to refresh, nor much less, to afford his mite, at the dinner, to the Subscription or Charity Plates, which, in all likelihood, would be handed about.—Colonel Adeane went, and submitted to all which was requisite in a Gentleman to perform. Mr. Jones thanked him for his diligence and attention, and indulging his rancorous and unforgiving disposition with a calculation, of his unavoidabl expences having amounted to fourteen Shillings, instead, of nearly so many Guineas, which they did, he threw him one Guinea, remarking, he exacted no change, being rather desirous, the Colonel should feel an obligation to him, than, *vice versa*, himself to the Colonel.

In the same temper of mind, was his answer delivered, when I took leave, and asked him what I should say to my mother, regarding the judgement which might have been formed of the character of the boy.—
"Say, Sir, to the good Lady, that my daughter has, by thedisobedience of her conduct, forfeited all right
"to my kindness;—that my son in law, with all his accomplishments as a soldier, is, in my opinion, void
"of common sense, and my grandson, such as I adjudge him at present, not fit to scour pewter pots.—
"These, Sir, are my sentiments, and nothing, but affinity of blood, which compels me to let him inherit,
"could ever have induced me to allow of such beings, succeeding to the wealth, which honest industry ac-
"quired, and dignified œconomy improved."

We left London the 23d of December, young Adeane, with Mr. Thomas Bird, the son of a friend of Mr. Jones', and brother to one of my Indian intimates.—Mr. Bird readily embraced the permission, which his father gave him, of so favorable an opportunity to see the Continent; and providing ourselves with a good post chaise, from Mr. Dessein, at Calais, we rolled on comfortably to Lisle;—Here, we met, at Table d'Hôte, with a Leghorn Merchant, a Mr. Raguenau, who proposed to us to travel together, provided we would go with him so far out of our way as Brussels, where his mercantile concerns obliged him to repair. To this proposition we readily agreed, both, from the principle of diminishing our expences, and encreasing the satisfaction of travelling, with the advantage of so well informed a companion. In this charming

city,

city, and environs, we sojourned one week.—It was then the residence of many people of the first fashion, and being the capital of Austrian Flanders, the Governor for His Imperial Majesty, Prince Charles of Lorrain, displayed a brilliant Court, and was particularly civil and engaging to Strangers.

Quitting Brussels, we traversed Austrian and French Flanders, Picardy, and part of Champagne, without any thing particular occurring until we came to Chalons. At this place, we had the usual post horses harnessed to our carriage, when the Chevalier de Narbonne, Lieutenant Colonel of the Queen's regiment, which regiment was in garrison at Nancy, came post from Paris, having, as other young men of fashion serving in the Army in those days did, prolonged his stay to the last hour in the capital, and travelling day and night with an *ordonnance* for relays to his destination.—This put a stop to our proceeding. The horses were calmly taken out of our carriage, and as all this was done *selon les régles*, it was in vain to complain.

Getting out, the Chevalier accosted us with all that politeness, so natural to a man of quality, expressing his regret at our disappointment, which he sincerely hoped would be lessened, by reflecting on the serious situation in which he would be placed, were he not, at the moment his furlough expired, present with his regiment.—His anxiety seemed visibly to encrease, so soon, as he was informed, that it would at least take five hours to repair the damage done to his chaise; but, having made himself acquainted with our route, and observed that our carriage was in perfect condition, with the happiest imagination he conceived it possible, judging we were travelling for pleasure, to induce us to go a little out of our road, to view that fine country Lorrain. No sooner was it suggested to his mind, than he made the proposition, adding how happy such a resolution on our part would make him, and promising on his, every gratifying attention during our stay.—We consented, and jogged on three in the carriage, besides young Adeane, one of us men, alternately, every post, riding a bidet, and reached Nancy in time, for the Chevalier to report his arrival to the Commanding Officer, with credit to himself.—Never did a young man, for a trifling favor conferred, evince a stronger sense of gratitude.—*Ses meilleurs amis* were constantly in his thoughts, and, as such, we were introduced to the Officers of his regiment, to all the fashion of the place, and spent a most delightful fortnight in that beautiful city.

We retraced our way back to Besançon, and entering Switzerland, by crossing the mountains of Jura, over heaps of snow, arrived at Lausanne in January, 1774, and whilst the severest winter reigned.—The reciprocal joy which was felt after an absence of nine years may be easily judged. I found my worthy mother impatient to return to the circle of her friends and relations in England, and I had the happiness of contributing, before the end of that year, essentially to her removal. The friends and school companions of my youth expressed much satisfaction at our meeting again, and these, with my own family, and the English of distinction, then sojourners along the enchanting lake of Geneva, occasioned the time which I remained, to pass most agreeably. Amongst the latter was the last Marquis of Lindsey, of the noble family of Bertie, Dukes of Ancaster, who, after having distinguished himself in his Country's cause, during the whole of the Campaigns in the American War, soon after the Peace of 1783, paid an early tribute to nature. I never knew a young Nobleman so gifted in figure, nor one endowed with more noble sentiments. His heart was expanded to all those who were honored with his acquaintance, and who truly lamented the severe loss which they suffered, in being bereft of so valuable a friend and patron.—The Tutor who accompanied him, was the well known writer of Travels, Brydone, whom his Lordship left to his compositions, to follow the dictates of his own inclinations and pursuits. In the career of the latter, none appeared to have made a stronger impression than the military turn, which his Lordship, and his greatest intimate, the

the late Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, killed in India, imbibed from loyalty to their Sovereign, and the warmest attachment to their Country. These two young men adopted the resolution, of rendering themselves immediately serviceable. The fortune and rank, which they possessed, were insignificant objects, compared to their eager thirst for glory. I was selected by his Lordship, to impart to his father and mother the determination formed, and Brydone, who, through me, presented their Graces with his manuscript of a Tour through the Grisons and Vallais, begged of me, likewise, to say to his Grace, that all attempt, to cause a deviation, would be in vain.—The Duke dreading the loss of an only son, heir to his titles and distinction, with every visible grief on his mind, yet questioned me, if a commission in the Guards would not satisfy the Marquis?—I replied, instantly, "Nothing, My Lord Duke, but active employment and service in England's contest with America."

The Dutchess, to whom I was next introduced, seemed fully sensible also, of the danger their family would incur.—I was equally candid with her Grace, and however the disappointment to her wishes, I was honored with her attention during my stay in England.

Mr. Bird, and I, quitted Lausanne in the month of March, and, through Burgundy, took the direct road to Paris, where, at the Hôtel of Denmark, we spent six agreeable weeks.—We here met again our Nancy friend, the Chevalier de Narbonne, who not only recognized us, but was equally profuse in bestowing on us every kind mark of his attachment and gratitude. His uncle, the Cardinal of Toulouse, was the Minister of France, at that juncture, and as the prevailing fashion, in compliment to the Monarch's dissipated career, was, for each man of fashion to entertain a mistress, the Chevalier had an understanding of this nature, with one of the first dancers at the Opera, at whose *maison de plaisance*, we were admitted as his friends, and partook often of the *petits soupers* which closed the amusements of the day, and, during which, the utmost decency, and brilliancy of wit reigned.

At a place so expensive, it suited us not to prolong our stay, and on our way to Calais, *viâ* Amiens and Abbeville, we visited the beautiful palace of Chantilly, where the Prince of Condé then resided, and the grandeur which he displayed, particularly in his stable, and the number of beautiful horses which it contained, reminded me of what I had seen in India, forming the household and establishment of an Indian Naboh.—Little did I then think, I should live to pass through this place thirty years afterwards, and have to contemplate, by its ruins, and the deserted state in which every thing appeared, the vanity and instability of the first situations in life.

Stopping at Boulogne, and asking for an English newspaper, the very first paragraph, which I read, was the death of Mr. Jones, and thus were my hopes frustrated;—for although I knew he had actually secured the promise of his colleagues for my appointment, conformably to the assurance which he gave me before I left England, yet, I was too well acquainted with mankind, not to be thoroughly persuaded, that such a promise, on the part of those gentlemen, would be considered, to have expired with their friend's last breath. I soon found my idea verified, when I waited on them, and to do justice to one character in the Direction, the late Sir William James, better recollected by the name of the Bombay Commodore James, (from having raised himself into notice by his distinguished conduct, in conjunction with Admiral Watson, in destroying the nest of Pirates, which under a Chief, named Angriah, infested the Malabar Coast, in the seven years war,) he frankly owned to me that such were his sentiments.

With this disappointment I must have resumed my military career, had not my worthy friend, Mr. Edward

Payne, felt indignant at such worldly proceedings.—His trial however was equally vain.—Nothing could impress those gentlemen, that, as men of honor, they stood bound to the individual, in whose favor their votes had been obtained, notwithstanding his patron had, in the interim, demised.—Still, venting loudly his opinion, and as Governor of the Bank, carrying some consequence, a compromise was thought proper to be offered, by my nomination to a Writership on the list of 1776, which station was accepted, accompanied with the assurances that I should be so recommended to the Government of India, as to be deemed eligible to such situations, as Factors were placed in.

Pending my second embarkation for that country, I had the satisfaction of seeing my mother, sisters, and brothers return to England, and after a renewal of her acquaintances in London, the old Lady made her election of Beverley in Yorkshire for her future residence.

Within this period, occurred the contest between Sir Thomas Rumbold and Lord Pigot for the Government of Madras.—The former had been actually nominated to the station, through the power of Ministerial influence, and well disbursed loans or gifts.—The latter immediately appealed to a Court of Proprietors, declaring he had made known his wishes to the Directors, although he had not directly solicited. This question came to be discussed before a general Court. The merits of each candidate were with ability displayed, and the comparison held regarding the pretensions of the competitors severely animadverted upon. In fact, Lord Pigot, a Civilian, in his memorable defence of the siege of Madras by Count Lally, rose far above any merit, which could be adduced in behalf of the other candidate. The point which the latter's friends urged most conspicuously to notice, was Mr. Rumbold volunteering, when in the civil service of Madras, to go round to Bengal, with Admiral Watson and the gallant Clive, to rescue the few of their countrymen left, after the affair of the Black Hole in Serajah ul Dhowlah's reign, and serving afterwards as Captain of Grenadiers at the battle of Plassey.—Of all the bitter orators of that day, the late Commodore Johnstone bore the palm.—Not content, with his commanding eloquence having drawn the torrent, in favor of his friend Lord Pigot, he introduced in his speech, sarcasms the most unjustifiable.—Amongst these was the circumstance of the salt business, while Rumbold held the Chiefship of Patna, with Rajah Seetabroy, on whom, as Dewan of the province, an unheard of quantity had been forced at an exorbitant price, in order to have it branched out, and diversified into various provincial channels, subordinate to his power.—In an examination before the House of Commons on this subject, Rumbold was asked by the Commodore, "If the purchase on the Rajah's part had been voluntary?"—The answer, "Certainly, "it was so considered." "But," said the Commodore, "do you think, Sir, with reference to your re-"lative situations, yours as Chief of Patna, his as Dewan of the province, acting under your immediate "orders, he would have thought himself at liberty to have refused any request which you made to him, and "perhaps might think proper to press on him for acquiescence?" Rumbold's reply attracted the admiration of the House, and conciliated the good natured Members favorably towards him. It was pointed and smart. "Without doubt," observed Rumbold, "the Rajah was a well bred man, and would have deem-"ed himself bound in complaisance to say yes."

Even to attract the preference which he wished to command in behalf of his friend, did the Commodore introduce a personal contrast between the respective families of each candidate, in a distant allusion, though sufficiently comprehensive, of the *Jeu de Mot* which had relation thereto, and which Lord Suffolk, one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State, had permitted himself to play off with regard to Mr. Rumbold. This nobleman had the care of forming the Treasury List of Members, and having returned Mr. Rumbold, conjointly

conjointly with Mr. Mackreth for the same Borough, the latter complained of such a colleague. Both, in fact, had been originally waiters in the fashionable gaming houses in St. James' street; but Mackreth having been early successive, had studied, entered himself in Lincoln's Inn, and actually had been admitted a Barrister.—Lord Suffolk piqued at the impertinence of the remonstrance, bitterly and quickly answered, he knew no reason for complaint, since he believed, so far as his recollection and information directed him, these gentlemen had both been called to the Bar, nearly at the same time.

The discussion ended by a ballot being demanded. In vain did the Court of Directors urge, that had Lord Pigot solicited to go out, his claim would have been regarded by them as transcendant; that, it's not coming in their province to guess his Lordship's wishes, they had, after mature deliberation, fixed on an unexceptionable person for this trust, and nominated him accordingly;—that such decisions of the Proprietors marked a want of confidence in the executive power, and tended to weaken their authority.—The result was, that, by a majority of four votes Lord Pigot's success was proclaimed, and he proceeded to his Government with a full determination of restoring the King of Tanjore to his Country, the revenues of which had been sequestrated, and the administration usurped by the servants of the Company, united with the Nabob of the Carnatic, on the pretext of realizing those assignments which His Majesty had granted on his Aumils, for his contingency towards the support of the war.

The issue of this contest detained me longer in England than I had apprehended I should, Sir Thomas Rumbold having proposed to me to accompany him, however my friends had, unreservedly, thrown the whole of their weight in the scale of his adversary. I enjoyed the pleasure of journeying with my mother and family to their selected retreat, spent some time with them at Beverley, and, when the moment of separation came, took a farewell leave, never to meet again, the good old Lady ending her days there in May, 1783.—We sojourned some days in Cambridgeshire, at a cousin of my mother's, Mr. Allix of Swaffham House, the great grandson of the celebrated Minister of Charenton, (vide Biographia Britannicæ) who emigrated to England, to avoid Lewis the 14th's impolitic and base persecution of his Protestant subjects. During our temporary abode, my mother observing the young Lady of the house and myself, not averse to each other, planned a match between us, whereby, she hoped to deter me from going again to India, and becoming possessed of a fortune, which, had no will existed, I was the lawful heir to.—In order to effect this, the old gentleman, on whom the change of bequest depended, was, previously, to be consulted. This failed, from one of those wise maxims, which certain persons, of limited ideas, seldom omit, being guided by. He professed, having no objection, on the contrary, he avowed his partiality for me; but added, that, having made his will once in his life, and that forty years before, it did not become him to alter it.—My readers, will naturally incline, after this description, to be more acquainted with the eccentricity of the character. It respected the late Mr. Buissiere of Cork street, Burlington Gardens, who died at an advanced age of above ninety years, leaving his wealth to the eldest son of Mr. Allix.* Mr. Buissiere was the nephew of the surgeon, whom Rapin, in his history of England, mentions being the favorite

* This gentleman met with an unexpected death. Having gone out a coursing with his dogs, unattended by any servant, he was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, and dropped from his horse. The animal galloped back to the house, a distance of two hours, and would not allow himself to be caught. Mrs. Allix, suspecting her husband had been thrown, directed a servant to mount, and accompany his master's horse where he might lead him, and procure immediate aid. The mounted and dismounted animals went off with the greatest speed, and having reached the spot, Mr. Allix's horse snorted, testified in appearance every regret, and fell dead at his master's feet!—In the Annual Register of the year in which Mr. Allix died, this extraordinary circumstance is recorded.

favorite of King William the third, and having been called in to set his collar bone, but which accident proved to His Majesty, from his great age, mortal. The uncle left a considerable fortune, which the nephew early came into possession of, without any talent, or ambitious wish to shine in the world, and improve his patrimony.—He found himself on his succession, in the enjoyment of full four thousand pounds per annum, with a strong portion of good common sense, and he planned for himself, a mode for spending that income, in the most agreeable manner, and from which he did not deviate, until infirmity compelled him to give up his sudden transitions from place to place.—With a good house in London, another in Lincolnshire, where his domains laid, a house in Paris, and equally one at Chantilly, he divided his time quarterly throughout the year, at each of these situations.—He uniformly refused every public station offered to him, repeatedly declined coming into Parliament, and never having raised his rents, his managing farmer went in the County by the name of *Golden John*. On Thursdays and Sundays, whilst he resided in London, his house was open for eleven friends.—These received no particular invitation, but once, they were admitted by him to that rank, each knew he could trust to a cover for that day. His politeness was the finished one of the old school. If illness confined him to bed, or some unavoidable engagement required, indispensably his absence from home, on either of these given days, every one, who he was in the habit of seeing on this footing, were sure of receiving a card expressive of his disappointment.—As *la bonne chére et l'esprit* reigned at his table, the number were generally complete.—It never could be exceeded, for once *la douzaine* assembled, the porter lamentably observed you were too late for admission, and concluded with a hope you would be more fortunate on the next occasion.—In this manner did life glide on with him.—He had married a daughter of Sir Thomas Gooch of Suffolk, but their tempers not agreeing, they soon entered on a separation, and shortly after, the Lady died, without having had any children, from her transient cohabitation. *A chére amie* consoled him, though to her he was no dupe.—His charities to the latter end of his life were extensive, and the sole clause which he added to his will, was a legacy to her of five hundred Pounds Sterling, (besides a fixed annuity), a sum coeval with the legacies he left to his three cousins, Mrs. Grand, Mrs. Payne, and Mrs. Burton, the latter of whom being much richer than my mother, and indignant at being so coupled, remained in some doubt, whether they should accept. My mother hesitated not; the old Lady wrote to me, she had as she thought, wisely and readily pocketed the *Sterling* affront.

In Dec. 1775, I embarked on board of the Greenwich, Eastindiaman, Capt. Robert Carr, having for my fellow passengers, Mr. and Mrs. Floyer and family, who, from having recently filled the functions of a Bengal Counsellor, by direction of Lord Clive, was again translated to his old Establishment of Madras, and nominated expressly to the Chiefship of Masulipatnam, Major John Smith, the brother of Gen. Richard Smith, was the only military passenger, and Messrs. Wombwell, Willes, and myself, the three civilians, writers for Bengal.—Of all the kind hearted, friendly, noble minded, and philanthropic beings which have fallen within my observation, I never knew one possessed of those virtues to a greater degree, than my friend Mr. Wombwell. Brought up at l'Ecole Militaire, at Paris, with some of the first men of fashion, he had imbibed a mode of thinking and of action conformable to the old chevalrous spirit, which shone so brightly, with the French and Spanish Nobility, in the days of the renowned Chevalier Bayard. With this temper, it is not to be wondered, his limited fortune could not keep pace, with the unbounded generosity of his mind.—He soon found his means reduced, and fortunately, ere appearance would have proclaimed the disastrous change, he accepted of his cousin the late Sir George Wombwell's offer to go to India, with every support which his seat and influence in the Direction, could possibly bestow on him.

Of

Of noble extraction, his family originally Lords of the Seigniory Domain of Ombelle in Normandy, and having, till within the last century, been, since the conquest, proprietors of Wombwell Manor in Yorkshire, he felt a certain degradation which his father had suffered in following mercantile pursuits*; and he lamented that necessity equally drove him to officiate as a Writer, the dread of which employment, actually at times, affected his spirits. Equally did his apprehensions extend to a life on board of a ship. He literally considered it a prison, with just a sufficiency of food, allowed to keep body and life together, and having laid down one hundred and fifty days for the length of the passage, reckoned every day, as it elapsed, a choice blessing. I shall never forget the surprise which was excited in him, when I resolved a question he put to me, and which arose from the injunctions which the Captain laid on his steward, in the presence of his table guests.—We had the first day we sailed from Portsmouth severe weather, and no possibility of having any fire on board, to cook hot things, either for the men or ourselves.—The table, however, was covered with every thing which could be wished for, cold, and the Captain added, pleasingly, that whenever any of us, had a wish to dine in our respective cabins, or wanted either Hock, Claret, or Madeira, to drink in them, he hoped, we would experience from his steward, as ready an obedience to our orders, as he doubted not, he should to his own. I perceived Wombwell's amazement, and concluded he had treated it as a rhodomontade, and forgotten it accordingly. But, scarcely had we risen, and come upon deck, that taking me by the arm apart, "Is it possible, my dear fellow," said he, "that the Captain "could have been serious?" I assured him, from the character which I had heard of him, of constant noble treatment to his passengers, that I firmly believed it. The result proved the truth, and this conduct, so contrary to Wombwell's expectation, having completely conciliated him, he, every day, manifested his sense of it to the Captain, by the most marked personal attentions.

The gale encreasing, and meeting with a foul wind, just as we were about to leave Channel, our Captain thought it prudent to go into Falmouth; where I was much diverted in Wombwell and myself falling into lodgings, the lower apartments of which were occupied by a tallow chandler.—*Ses habits sentaient toujours le suif;* and lavender and other perfumes were used in abundance. After awaiting ten days in this harbour for a fair wind, we continued our journey to the Cape of Good Hope, touching at this Paradise of climates, in the height of the fruit season. We met here with the most pleasing civilities, and at this distance of time, I cannot but contemplate with astonishment the difference in the expence of every article. Major Smith, Mr. Wombwell, and myself, lodged at a Mr. de Wit's. We staid a full month, and fared sumptuously; each of us, besides, had a half aum of the best Constantia; we gave likewise a handsome ball and supper to those who had claims on our returned attention, and with washing, waggon hire to Constantia, &c. the reckoning of each person came to no more, than four-and-forty Pounds Sterling.

We landed at Madras in June, 1776, and found that Government in the greatest degree of agitation.—The positive orders which Lord Pigot carried out with him, for the restoration of the King of Tanjore to his Kingdom, and freeing the administration of it from those *bloodsuckers* which had fed on it some time, was sufficient to raise him a host of enemies.—His Lordship's character was not of that mould, to be appalled with the risks, which he personally incurred.—Fully sensible of the propriety of the measure, he persevered in it, notwithstanding every opposition, and carried it completely into execution. Unfortu-

* This gentleman's father, my father, with Mr. Coxon, His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Alicant in Spain, formed in London, and in the former city, the respectable houses of commerce, under the well known firm, at that juncture, of Wombwell, Grand, and Coxon.

nately the Government was ill constituted. Instead of a Governor *in* Council, it was a Governor *and* Council; and such was the power which the distrubution of wealth created, that his Lordship having only the casting vote, when the numbers on any motion were equal, soon encountered a majority against him, to thwart every measure which he proposed. This naturally irritated a proud mind, and conscious of the rectitude of his pursuits, he adopted methods, which were not strictly legal, in the hope of conducting the machine to a good harbour. These failed—The majority of the Council, obtained the sanction of the Commander in Chief of the army, Sir Robert Fletcher, his second in command, General James Stuart, and they suspended Lord Pigot from his official functions, and arrested his person, confining it at the Mount, under a guard of Artillery, where his Lordship gradually pined away and resigned his breath, before the result of the decision could reach him, from the appeal made to England.

At this place commenced my acquaintance with Sir John M'Pherson, who was Mr. Hastings' Agent, and to whose direction Col. Macleane, with whose official dispatches, for his friend the Governor General of India, I was entrusted, had ordered me to submit. I had understood this gentleman to have had in readiness a vessel to have conveyed me immediately to Bengal, but this not being the case, I continued my voyage from Madras in the Greenwich, only accompanying the Purser to town in the first boat which was dispatched, after the ship had anchored in Saugur roads. I was received by Mr. Hastings with that affability and benevolence which were so characteristic in that great man, and directly was taught to consider myself an inmate of the family, and one, partaking in a certain degree of his confidence, having the honor of being admitted to his Bureau, to transcribe his official dispatches and secret papers.

In this Presidency reigned another instance of the same inefficiency of Government,—the late General Sir John Clavering, the Hon. Colonel Monson, with the present Mr. Philip Francis, forming a majority against the Governor, and Mr. Barwell, his only support.

Against a Government so constituted, Mr. Hastings had in vain pleaded. The Directors, swayed by the Ministry, were compelled to support those whom the latter had nominated. Happily the hand of Providence interfered, and by the death of Colonel Monson, in September of that year, gave a spring to those exertions, which Mr. Hastings' capacious mind had devised for the public good. This pleasing change had nearly suffered an interruption, by Colonel Macleane, Mr. Hastings' Agent, having too precipitately given in Mr. Hastings' resignation, whereby Sir John Clavering was elected for his successor, and the late Mr. Edward Wheeler to fill the vacant seat in Council. The Court of Directors, eager to oblige the Ministry, and to sacrifice their invaluable servant to their wishes, neither canvassed nor disputed the legality of Macleane's act, but accepted the tender unconditionally, and even without fixing a precise time for the alteration taking place. Many of Mr. Hastings' friends interposed, and so convinced were not a few of them, that he would not ratify an act which subjected him and his friends to the mercy of his inveterate enemies, nor provided any thing to cause his retirement from the scene of action being comfortable, as to induce the cautious Mr. Wheeler, on hearing at Portsmouth of the decease of Colonel Monson, to return to town, and to get his commission changed, by being directly appointed to succeed the deceased, and not elected to the vacancy supposed to have been created by the resignation of Mr. Hastings.

Yet the disgust which harbored in Mr. Hastings' proud mind, in seeing the tide of power so adverse to him, was so great, as nearly to have deprived the nation of the services of one, whose eminent

eminent talents for Government, shone so transcendantly in the sequel. Had Sir John Clavering conducted himself with common decency in the triumph which he thought he had obtained, not one friend of Mr. Hastings, nor one member of his family, but was fully persuaded, he would, readily have abdicated. Instead of sending a conciliatory message to Mr. Hastings, desiring to ascertain his convenience, and, from that moment, trusting all their differences might be buried in oblivion, and testifying his wish and inclination to protect those whom Mr. Hastings respected, scarcely had the General finished the perusal of his dispatches, than he peremptorily and bluntly summoned Mr. Hastings to meet him at ten in the morning in Council, and there to deliver over to him the keys of the Treasure and of Fort William. I was then living at a garden house, a short distance from town, with my recent acquired consort, and being in the habit of calling at Mr. Hastings', before I repaired to my office, I met, as I was going up the back stairs, my friend Major William Palmer, then the Governor's Military and Private Secretary. He seemed agitated, and in haste only whispered to me, that he was going in the Fort, to secure the obedience of the garrison. I continued ascending the steps, and entering the room, found Mr. Hastings busily writing with Mr. Bogle, Mr. Sumner, and Captain Roberts, Sir John Clavering's Aide de Camp, who was the bearer of the summons. Palmer soon returned, with the assurance of Colonel James Morgan, then commanding in the Fort, that he neither acknowledged, nor should acknowledge, until Mr. Hastings gave him proper notification, any other authority as Governor than Mr Hastings. The same injunctions had been immediately transmitted to the late Colonel Granger Mure, who commanded at Barrackpore five battalions of Native Sepoys, and from whom the same success of implicit submission was equally expected. This was realized, and Mr. Hastings confiding in the justice of his cause, and military support, and indignant at Sir John's harsh proceedings, determined to resist the attempt, to oust him from the chair, and accordingly, directed the Revenue Secretary, Mr. Sumner, to summon the General and Mr. Francis, to meet the Governor and Mr. Barwell, at an ordinary Revenue Council day. With this answer Capt. Roberts retired, and at twelve o'clock the divided Government were assembled, the latter in Mr. Sumner's office, and the former two gentlemen in Mr. Auriol's, who was then the *Chief* Secretary of Government. Parties began to gather. The Governor's body guard was doubled, and some apprehension arose of a civil commotion. In this temper, and after some messages and conferences from the two Boards, it was at length agreed to call in the assistance and interposition of His Majesty's Judges, and to submit to their reference and decision, the act of resignation, the subsequent nominations, and the proceedings which had occurred in consequence; the respective parties, viz. the Governor and Mr. Barwell, and *vice versa*, Sir John Clavering and Mr. Francis, pledging themselves authentically and solemnly in the presence of the Judges, to abide by the issue.

The Judges were convened to meet in the evening at the Chief Justice's house, Sir Elijah Impey's, and gentlemen were requested to attend on the part of each Member of Government, Sir John D'oily and Major Palmer were present for Mr. Hastings, Mr. Addison for Sir John Clavering, Mr. Cator for Mr. Barwell, and the present Sir George Shee for Mr. Francis.—During the time the Judges were closetted, intent on conferring, resolving, and having their opinions transcribed, we partook of a gay pleasant supper with Lady Impey, who retired not from table till two in the morning. We had two hours to await, at length the clock struck four, and at that moment, the doors opened, and two packets were given to the respective attendants. I accompanied my friends down stairs, and having had it whispered in my ear, that the Judges had pronounced unanimously in Mr. Hastings' favor, I went home, and resigned myself comfortably to that rest, which the state of previous anxiety I had endured so necessarily required.

In

In fact, the decisions could not have been otherwise, accordant with strict justice. In the unanimity which prevailed amongst the Judges, it was clearly manifested, that no partial bias had swayed their minds, for Sir Robert Chambers was decidedly a partisan of Sir John Clavering. The Court of Directors had been too hasty in their judgement and determination. An act of this nature demanded a formal deed, notarially signed and executed, with a complete delegated power, made special to this effect, to the person in whom the trust was reposed, and required equally his having been recognized and acknowledged, as a fully empowered Agent, by those to whom he had been deputed. Instead of which, a paragraph of a letter, simply observing, if such and such conditions could not be obtained, so as to render the Governor's situation efficient, an abdication would be preferable to a state of nullity. It was probable, other circumstances might, in the interim, arise, which might cause the Governor to exercise a preponderance, and enjoying this was all he wished, for to enable him to display his talents and services with advantage. This did actually happen, and it could not be supposed, that once in possession of what he ardently solicited, not from any personal consideration, but from the consciousness which he felt, that being unfettered, his Country would derive the benefit of his operations, he would sacrifice those considerations, himself, and those friends who had supported him, to an uncertain issue. The Judges wisely argued that a resignation must be positive, and not conditional; the time fixed for its taking place specific, and not left to an indefinite period, that an appointment of this magnitude, decreed by the Legislature under the absolute sanction of an Act of Parliament, could not be disposed of, nor parted with, in so slovenly and indirect a manner. &c. &c.—In short, by their award, the Judges enjoyed the selfpleasing satisfaction of remarking, that the general suffrage of the inhabitants concurred with them most fully in a sense of its propriety.

I am aware it was industriously circulated by the adherents to the Clavering party, that the mock resignation, as it was termed by them, had been no other than a *Ruse de Politique*, equally allowable by those men, slaves to party faction, as a *Ruse de Guerre*, practised by Mr. Hastings and his friends to gain time. But those who are acquainted with the worth of Mr. Hastings' character, can never subscribe, there entered in that pure and great mind any machiavelian art or system; nor will those, who well knew the uprightness of Colonel Macleane's principles, amongst which I may be reckoned, readily yield to any idea prevailing, that he could have lent his fair name to become the base instrument of so vile a duplicity. They even went so far, as to assert, that the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, the Governor's Westminster old school companion, had advised it, and was a party concerned. To such an height will the rage of disappointment often extend! The disappointment to them was certainly severe. It blasted their immediate expectations of fortune and preferment, and it was further augmented by the head of the party Sir John Clavering, allowing it to prey so much on his spirits, that, with the heat of the climate, brought on an irritation of bile, and which ending in a putrid fever, carried the General off the stage, in less than three months after this event.

I should have noticed in the paragraph preceding, that after the Judges fiat, Mr. Hastings was led to consider, that by the assumption the General had vacated his seat in Council, and equally his station as His Majesty's Commander in Chief in India. The doors of the Council house were, in consequence, refused to the General, when he attempted to enter, and he received a notification, through the Secretary, to this effect.—This alarmed Sir John's Coadjutor, Mr. Francis, and drew from him a pathetic minute, appealing to the Judges, and to the solemn pledge of the parties to conform implicitly to their opinion, and

patiently

patiently to await the result of the appeal to England. The Judges deprecated this subsequent measure, and conjured the parties to remain in *statu quo*, until the event of the reference would be known.—This was obeyed, and the intended proscription withdrawn.

Mr. Hastings' intimacy with Sir Elijah Impey could not be doubted. They had been educated together. They were both men of conspicuous talents, equally indefatigable in business, as superior to others in amiability, information, and pointed wit. Souls so gifted could not be otherwise than congenial. Yet in their public walks they were opposed. The Chief Justice, inclined, as most Lawyers are, to stretch their power, beyond the possible limits, it could have been meant with any justice to the country to operate; and ever ready to interpret favorably and to this tendency, whatever appeared rather ambiguous in the Charter of justice, constrained the Governor to the unpleasant necessity of opposing the messengers of justice, which had been deputed into the Districts, to attach, much to the injury of the Revenue, the property of the landholders, *vi et armis*.—For this strong act it became indispensable to entreat an act of indemnity, and such was granted, defining for the future, the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to the boundary of the Mahrattah Ditch, viz. ten miles around Calcutta; and the great Lord Mansfield was known to say, that, had the institutes of Menu, the Indian Lawgiver, framed and perfected into a Code, fifteen hundred years before the nativity of our Saviour, which laws, Mr. Hastings engaged the celebrated Mr. Halhed to devote his time to the acquisition of the Sanscrit language, with the view of rendering himself able to translate them into English, been known, and been familiar to him, which they were, after the publication took place, his Lordship would never have given his sanction, for the introduction of English laws in India.

From a circumstance apparently trifling in its nature, but serious in its consequences, not occurring so soon as it could have been wished, was the welfare of India, and the existence of the British sway in it imminently risked. No man, who surveyed personally the disastrous state of that country, soon after the English laws obtained a footing, but must have felt the danger, to which, by this ill advised measure, *British dominion was* subjected. I will, as a witness thereof, well acquainted with the general repugnance *manifested*, and fully confident, many of my contemporaries will concur in opinion with me, not hesitate to declare, that had not Mr. Hastings been at the head of the administration, in whose wisdom the natives held the greatest predilection, a general revolt would have happened. His moderation, and the firm reliance which they placed, that his remonstrance to England against the assumed extent of their operation, would have full effect, determined them to await patiently the result, and yet, that patience would have been exhausted, had not Mr. Hastings, as I mentioned above, boldly incurred the hazardous responsibility, of checking the evil, ere it spread beyond a remedy, by force.

While I remained in the family of Mr. Hastings, I was in the habitude, with my friends, Majors Palmer and Gall, to make occasional excursions at the end of the week, on the river. Our *rendez-vous*, generally, was either at the lamented Mr. Croft's plantation of Sooksagurr, in which he had introduced the growth of the sugar cane, or at Ghyretty house, the residence of Mr. Chevalier, the Governor of the French Settlement of Chandernagore.—At this gentleman's mansion, there reigned the truest hopitality and gaiety. His admiration and personal friendship for Mr. Hastings, ensured the most welcome reception to those who were patronized by this excellent man. In one of these trips from the Presidency, I formed an attachment to Miss Noël Catharine Werlée, the daughter of Monsieur Werlée, Capitaine du Port, and Chevalier de Saint Louis, a respectable old man, whose services had deservedly merited this mark of dis-

tinction from his Sovereign. We were not long in expressing to each other our reciprocal inclinations, and an engagement in matrimonial alliance took place, which we agreed should be solemnized so soon as I could obtain a situation, which might enable me to commence housekeeping.

The considerate Mr. Barwell, becoming acquainted with our mutual wishes, and pleasingly, as he said, desirous to alleviate the sufferings of a young couple, ardent to be united, opened of himself the subject to me, and with that liberality of mind, which he truly possessed, authorized me to impart to Mr. Hastings, that whatever he could devize for my welfare, should meet with his hearty concurrence. The Paymaster-ship to the garrisons was the first office which became vacant, and to this I should have been appointed, had not Mr. Hastings sacredly engaged his promise, for the station, to Mr. Kneller.—By the removal, however, of Mr. Coates, at the same period, to the commercial residency of Chittagong, these worthy friends obtained from the Board of Trade, for me, the office of Secretary to the Salt Committee, and Head Assistant and Examiner in their Secretary's Office, then, the present Mr. Charles Grant the Director.

These situations producing an income of thirteen hundred Rupees per month, I felt at full liberty, to claim from the young lady, and her worthy parent, the performance of their promise. The tenth of July, 1777, was accordingly fixed for the auspicious day, and as Miss Werlée was of the Catholic persuasion, it became necessary for us, to be married, both in the Romish and Protestant church. To these ceremonies we conformed. On the morning of that day, at one A. M. the Popish Priest legalized our union, in the church at Chandernagore, and at eight the same morning at Hughley house, where my old Benares friend, Thomas Motte Esq. dwelt, the Reverend Doctor William Johnson, by special licence from the Governor General, pronounced, I had fondly hoped, our indissoluble tie in this world, so long, as our respective career of life lasted.

I might well have entertained a reliance of this nature, for never did an union commence with more brightening prospects. On our parts, it was pure and disinterested, and blessed with the sincerest attachment. This continued, I may aver, to the cruel moment, which separated us never to meet again. Those who frequented my house verified the same. When called upon for their evidence, before the Tribunal of Justice, in order to identify the person, who had committed the irreparable injury, and who, with the boldest effrontery, had, as will be seen, denied in writing, his trespass, it was evident how they sympathized in my unfortunate lot. To the questions repeated by the Bench of Judges to each witness, their answer was uniform. "You were accustomed, Sir, to visit at Mr. Grand's house, did you ever observe "any mark of disunion between them?"—"On the contrary, My Lords, the happiest domestic union, and "we remarked that the most minute and reciprocal attentions prevailed, until this fatal event."

Here, I must pause a little, to call my readers attention to contemplate the instability of human happiness! On the 8th of December, 1778, I went out of my house, about nine o'clock, the happiest, as I thought myself, of men, and between eleven and twelve o'clock returned the same night to it, as miserable as any being could well feel. I left it, prepossessed with a sense, that I was blessed with the most beautiful as well as the most virtuous of wives, ourselves honored and respected, moving in the first circles, and having every prospect of speedy advancement. Scarcely had I sat down to supper at my benefactor, Mr. Barwell's society, who required of his friends, to join him every fortnight at this convivial meeting, than I was suddenly struck with the deepest anguish and pain. A servant who was in the habit of attending Mrs. Grand, came and whispered to me, that Mr. Francis was caught in my house, and secured by my Jemmadar (an upper

upper servant exercising a certain authority over other servants). I rose up from table, ran to the terrace, where grief, by a flood of tears, relieved itself for a moment.—I then sent for a friend out, who I requested to accompany me, but the rank of the party, and the known attachment which, I was well aware, he held to him, however, he execrated his guilty action, pleaded his excuse with me. I collected myself, so much as circumstances would admit, and dispatched the servant to acquaint the Jemmadar, I was coming. In my way, I thought proper to call on my friend Major Palmer, and request the use of his sword, and to attend me as a friend, the purpose which I had in view, being, to have released Mr. Francis, and seeing him out of my premises, compelled him to have measured himself with me, until one of us fell. Palmer approved of my determination, and we repaired to the spot.—The porter, hearing my voice, opened the gate, and in my lower apartments, my friend and I beheld with astonishment the present Sir George Shee, bound to a chair, and endeavouring to obtain from my servants his release, with Mr. Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, and the late Mr. Archdekin, companions to him, joining in the same prayer and entreaty.—He complained of having been cruelly treated by them. My Jemmadar, on the contrary, told a plain tale. It was, that he had secured Mr. Francis to meet the vengeance of his master, until Mr. Shee, assisted by the other gentlemen, upon a loud whistle, sounded by Mr. Francis, had scaled the walls of my compound, rushed furiously on him, and, in the scuffle, occasioned Mr. Francis to escape. I asked Mr. Shee, and his comrades, in the presence of Mr. Palmer, if they had seen Mr. Francis, and contributed to his rescue: but finding I could only draw from them evasive answers, with a declaration, that, what had actuated their coming, was Mr. Shee's running over to Mr. Ducarel's house, which was opposite, in which they lodged, loudly calling for their aid, to prevent their friend Mr. Francis being murdered, they had, between a state of sleeping and waking, ran forward, without considering what they were doing. I ordered in consequence their release, and leaving my house to the care of my faithful Jemmadar, and servants, I retired to Major Palmer's.

Seated on a chair, borne down with the deepest grief, I anxiously awaited the morning, to require, from the undoer of my happiness, the satisfaction which the laws of honor prescribe, as a poor relief to the injury committed. I wrote to Mr. Francis, that, void of every spark of principle and honor, as I deemed him, still, I trusted, he would not deny me the meeting, which I summoned him to immediately, with any friend whom he might choose to bring. His reply was laconic and easy.—It was couched in these terms. "That, conscious of having done me no injury, and that I labored under a complete mistake, he "begged leave to decline the proposed invitation, and that he had the honor to remain my most obedient, "&c. &c."

I now returned home, sent for Mrs. Grand's sister and brother in law from Chandernagore, occupied the lower apartments of my house, whilst Mrs. Grand remained in the upper, and on the Sunday following every thing was arranged for Mrs. Grand's returning with them, to live under their mansion, and protection, myself contributing what was requisite for her support, independent of the monthly allowance, which I chose to allot to her own disposal. An interview was entreated, and could not be denied. It lasted three hours, interrupted with the most poignant lamentations. I heard an unvarnished relation, of the baseness of the arts employed for the seduction of a stranger, and attained only to her sixteenth year. I pitied her from my heart. I sincerely forgave her, and with a sorrow, approaching to distraction, we parted.

After the addition of insult to injury, which I had suffered by Mr. Francis' reply, a course of law alone remained

remained open, to identify the person, and punish the crime. This, I had recourse to, not, without experiencing great difficulty, most of the complaisant Advocates of the Supreme Court, having, either been retained by him, or intimidated from acting. At length I succeeded with one who brought the process to a successful issue. By the testimony of Mr. Shee, Mr. Archdekin, and others, the trespass was fully proved, and the tresspasser was condemned by the Bench of Judges in damages of fifty thousand Sicca Rupees, with costs of suit.

Mr. Shee, the principal witness, on whose evidence every hope of crimination rested, had been induced to abscond, in the reliance which was placed, that he would thereby evade the jurisdiction, and save his *noble* patron, from the disgraceful exposure and consequences which naturally followed; and, not until the Bench had pronounced such contumely conduct liable to corporal punishment, did he return, when the subpœna was regularly served on him, and most unwillingly, was he compelled to appear before their Tribunal. In the course of his examination, it was extorted from him and others, that he had lent his apartments for Mr. Francis to dress in black clothes to visit Mrs. Grand, at ten o'clock at night, accompanied with a ladder, ingeniously constructed under Mr. Shee's superintendance, cut and framed out of a large split Bamboo, which they applied to the walls of the compound for Mr. Francis' conveniency to ascend; and as some dread was entertained, he might be interrupted in his villainous design, it was preconcerted, that Mr. Shee, and others of his adherents and supporters in iniquity, should patrole around the house, in order to be within call of lending their assistance, in the event of their hearing the sound of the whistle, with which their patron had provided himself. To facilitate this means of aid, it was settled between them, that the ladder should remain, and, from this resolution, unfortunate on their part, issued the discovery. My Hookahburdar coming to the chest which stood in a passage through which Mr. Francis had been obliged to pass, observed the ladder resting on the wall, and freightened, he withdrew, and communicated his apprehensions to the Jemmadar, and other servants in the back court yard, of thieves having got in to rob the house. In this conference, they resolved, as the best means of detecting the offenders, and prevent their carrying away the spoil, to pull the ladder in, and arm and post themselves by the door, ready to seize the first person attempting to come out. In this manner did my Jemmadar grasp Mr. Francis, who, in vain offered for his ladder and release plenty of *Gold Mohurs*, which it was established in evidence during the trial, he had furnished himself and carried loose in his pocket for the insidious purpose of bribing a gentleman's servant, if the emergency existed. Equally, was it adduced, that he had been lavish in his promises of promoting my Jemmadar, proclaiming the high rank which he was vested with, and his certainty of succeeding to be Governor General.

But, all his efforts of gold tendered, and promised favor, could not shake or corrupt the fidelity of the honest Rajepoot, (a sect next to the Bramins, and as remarkable for bravery as for attachment to those they serve), who, persisting to detain him, until his master came home, reduced Mr. Francis to the shift of effecting his enlargement, by having recourse to the scene which I have above described.

The difference of state, which I had heavily experienced, sensibly affected my health, and by the advice of those friends, who deeply felt for me, I was advised to change the air. I made my election for Patna, and luckily at this juncture, Mr. John Taylor, Head Commercial Assistant to the Factory, wished to remove to the Presidency. We exchanged our offices accordingly, and in April 1779, I repaired to my new destination.

In March, 1779, arrived Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, as successor to the employments which Sir

Sir John Clavering had held, both as Commander of the Forces in India, and second in Council, and however the Franciscan party were industrious to spread reports of his having declared previous to leaving England, his approval of the measures which Sir John and his party had adopted, (viz. *systematically thwarting Mr. Hastings)* with his intended opposition to Mr. Hastings, it very soon appeared, Sir Eyre's discernment, whatever might have been his opinions before, which none of his friends believed he had made known, inclined him to support Mr. Hastings' just policy. At the same time, advice was received, that Mr. Hastings was confirmed by Act of Parliament in his station of Governor General.

Lord North, with whom the regulating act of 1774 originated, and with whom the appointments of Messrs. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, had rested, began to observe with a more favorable eye, the measures pursued by Mr. Hastings. He saw in that great man a certainty, that whilst himself had unhappily involved the Mother Country in a war with her Colonies, which endangered and caused the separation of the latter, Mr. Hastings was, by the energy of his all commanding talents, preserving the integrity of the British empire in India, however the several European and native powers which he had to oppose.—Shortly after Sir Eyre's landing, came Mr. Elliot, a son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had from ill health, contracted in Bengal, been obliged to visit England for its restoration. This gentleman came over land, and passing through Paris, Lord Stormont, nephew to Earl Mansfield, and then the English Ambassador to the French Government, made him acquainted with the Treaty of Commerce, which had recently taken place between France and America, and which his Lordship had just attained to the knowledge of.—Lord Stormont would not communicate the same by any written document, but, conscious as he was, that such a measure, when his Court was apprized of it, would be followed by an immediate declaration of war against France, he imparted it only verbally, and under promise of secrecy, to divulge it to no one, than Mr. Hastings and Sir John Clavering. His Lordship obligingly added, he had been the school companion at Westminster of Mr. Hastings, whose abilities claimed his admiration, that Sir John was personally known to him, and, nothwithstanding, he was sensible, these gentlemen were political enemies, yet he *fully relied*, that in what was requisite immediately to perform for the honor of their nation, in consequence *of such an* event, both these great men, were too hearty lovers of their Country, not honestly to concur, burying all personal animosity, and sacrificing every private consideration to public good.

Sir John Clavering had, in the interim, paid the debt of nature, and Mr. Hastings alone remained, to whom the secret could be disclosed. His own great mind, instantaneously formed the same conclusion as Lord Stormont had done, and without awaiting for official directions, he resolved to assume the responsibility of anticipating their consequence, by an immediate attack on the French possessions. It was also a doubt where Count d'Estaing's fleet had sailed. The Governor combining the circumstances of a French Agent, viz. the Chevalier de St. Lubin, having at that juncture been well received at *Poonah*, and intelligence having reached the Bengal Government of his being admitted to frequent conferences with the Ministers, with the sudden departure of this squadron, adjudged the destination of the latter was fixed for Bombay, in order to co-operate with the evident hostile designs of the Marattahs. Upon reasons of such weight did Mr. Hastings, with the aid of Sir Eyre Coote and Mr. Barwell, carry his proposition in Council, against the voices of Messrs. Francis and Wheeler, for the French ships in the river being immediately detained, the French factory at Chandernagore to have troops stationed in it, and a British flag erected, and that the Madras Government should be earnestly entreated to commence the siege of Pondichery without delay.—In vain did Mr. Francis bellow against the preposterousness of the Company's Government, as-

suming the responsibility of involving the nation in a war with France, declaring such an act of presumption, nay of complete madness, should never receive his consent. Mr. Hastings felt confident on what grounds he acted, and disdaining all personal consequences, he employed to good use his happy preponderance of one vote in Council. Embracing every thing at once, he resolved upon supplanting the reigning power at *Poonah*, who had listened so willingly to French influence, by engaging the real heir to Ram Rajah, who had died in 1777, to assert his rights, backed by English support. This person was Moodajee Booslah, the Rajah of Berar, descended lineally from Sevajee, the founder of the Mahrattah empire, and the adopted son of Sahoo Rajah, who preceeded in the chief authority Ramrajah, and who had been placed in this situation, in defiance of the adoption, by the intrigues and art of Ballajee, who was the Peshwah, when Sahoo Rajah demised. For this purpose he made his selection of Mr. Elliot, to conduct this negotiation, and not an idea to the contrary exists with those acquainted with the politics of that age, but that Mr. Hastings would have succeeded in actuating the Rajah to prefer his claim by force of arms, and have entered into an advantageous treaty with the English Government, in compensation for their proffered aid, had it not been for the untimely decease of that able servant, as he was journeying to his destination Nagpoor, the capital of the Rajah of Berar's dominions. Even, though languishing under sickness, he pursued his object with ardour, and the value of what his services might have been, had it pleased the Almighty to have prolonged his life, was evinced during the short stay he made at Cuttack.—Here he fell in with Mr. Chevalier, the French Governor of Chandernagore, who had escaped when Col. Dow had marched in with a battalion of Sepoys, and with relays of horses, previously stationed through the Burdwan province, had already reached *Cuttack*, and was hurrying to the Mahrattah capital *Poonah*, to execute all the arrangements which the French Deputy, the Chevalier de St. Lubin, had, in conjunction with the Ministers, preconcerted.

Mr. Chevalier was accompanied by Mr. Louis Monneron, a man equally versed in intrigue, and endowed with ability.—Mr. Elliot saw immediately the necessity of arresting their progress, and prevailed upon the Rajah of Cuttack, Moodajee Booslah's Deputy in that province, to allow of his arresting these French gentlemen, and sending them prisoners to Calcutta. This endeavour delayed Mr. Elliot, for it was not without difficulty effected. The Rajah, however, at length assented, and Mr. Elliot becoming possessed of their persons, as well as papers, discovered by the perusal of the latter a full confirmation of the hitherto guessed designs of the French. Mr. Elliot released them, accepting of their parole of honor, that they would return to Calcutta, and constitute themselves prisoners of war to the Governor General, a pledge, both these gentlemen, much to their honor, executed in full, for Mr. Elliot travelling without escort, had no force to detach with them, to secure and compel their obedience.

So far, from what Mr. Hastings had seriously enjoined to the Madras Government meeting the success which he had flattered himself with, it might do, viz. "the cultivating a state of friendship and alliance with Hyder Aly," to serve as a counterpoise to the Mahrattah power, that, scarcely two months had elapsed, from the former measures having taken place, he received an express from Madras, conveying the melancholy tidings of Hyder Aly's irruption into the Carnatic, and his defeat of Sir Hector Munro, who with the loss of the flower of his army, some guns, and his baggage, had been necessitated to retreat to the mount; and as, if this news had not brought a full cup for lamentation, the same express was charged to impart that intelligence had arrived at Madras of the French fleet having sailed for India.

The mind of Mr. Hastings, undismayed and unsubdued by such grievous events, and considering with strict

strict propriety of judgment, the Carnatic, as the keystone to the British empire in India, suggested instantaneously the expediency of engaging Sir Eyre Coote, notwithstanding the unfavorableness of the season, to embark directly for Madras, with the European troops and treasure which could be spared, while an army of Sepoys was formed to march by land through Cuttack and the northern Sarcars, assisted in passing the former territory by the friendly disposition of its Sovereign the Rajah of Berar, and such vessels prepared to act as armed ships, and equipped in a fleet, to re-inforce Commodore Vernon, and contribute to the success of his maritime operations in the siege of Pondichery.—Further, that proposals for reconciliation should be transmitted to the Mahrattah Government, so beneficial as to ensure the acceptance of them.

The latter failed, however the terms proffered, had been previously subscribed to in Calcutta, and conveyed from the Supreme Government, through the medium of the Rajah of Berar, whose known partiality for the Governor General of Bengal, founded on that basis of esteem, which great men, not personally acquainted, still entertain for each other, had caused him repeatedly to tender his good efforts, towards effecting an amicable settlement, between the British Government, and the Court of Poonah.

When the position in which the Government was placed, when these pacific offers were rejected, is adverted to, it will not be considered a matter of any wonder. In fact, the Mahrattahs deemed the existence of the Company's Government to be very precarious, nay, verging to its speedy end. They learnt that a fleet of six men of war and four frigates had appeared off the Coast of Coromandel, under French colours; equally they knew, half the army had been extirpated by Hyder Aly, who proclaimed himself certain of driving the rest from the mount, to take refuge in the fort, and to besiege which, he expected three thousand Frenchmen, who would soon render him master of it. He had already succeeded against Arcot, and got himself, in consequence, acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic.

Mr Francis, likewise, had sounded the alarm, and, as usual, most impolitically impeded the Governor's exertions. His minutes, in constant opposition, were either circulated, or their purport verbally divulged. In these were displayed the exhausted state of the treasury, with his opinion recorded, that the period was approximating, when, instead of embarking on distant and uncertain expeditions, it would be more consistent with prudence to concentrate the forces, and the resources of the state, to meet in Fort William the local emergency, and shut up in it, by a protracted siege, trust for a renewal of energy, to proper succours being sent from England. He had before ridiculed the aid of the projected fleet under the command of Capt. Price, denominated them the *musquito* fleet, and boldly assuming they could never arrive in time, stigmatized the measure as an useless and expensive sacrifice. Their junction with Commodore Vernon, two of the ships mounting 40 guns each, off Pondichery, proved of singular service; they cut off the supplies to the garrison, caused its speedier reduction, and warranted thereby the plan to have been formed in consummate wisdom.

The army of Colonel Pearce met with every facility throughout its route. Its force consisted of ten battalions of native regiments, with a strong body of Artillery. They added materially to the small army which Sir Eyre Coote had brought into the field, and enabled that heroic Commander to retrieve the injury which the British arms had suffered in the defeat of Munro, by completely routing Hyder Aly in four successive pitched battles. Thus was the Carnatic saved by the transcendant genius of Warren Hastings, supported by his worthy colleagues, Sir Eyre Coote and Mr. Barwell.

It

It is not the object of this Narrative to detail the operations of campaigns, nor to amply delineate the characters, nor describe the particular exploits, in which each hero so materially partook. The exertions were worthy of British soldiers, and, however the gloomy prospect which pervaded every considerate mind, when they commenced, the issue was soon of that consequence, as to clear the Carnatic, and compel Hyder Aly to sue for peace. This was granted, and this happy termination effected, the whole British force was bent to reduce the Mahrattahs to a similar compliance. It was Mr. Hastings' most sanguine wish, with whom the sole responsibility of the war rested. Deprived of his able colleague Sir Eyre Coote by death, and of his friend Mr. Barwell, whose ill health required a change of climate, he had assumed the entire weight of this measure, conditioning only that his plans in the pursuit of it, should not be impeded, by any unnecessary opposition. This was assented to by Mr. Francis. The negociators were the late Mr. Ducarel, and the present Lord Teignmouth, who pledged themselves on the part of their friend, and, on this reliance, a sort of coalition was surmized to have taken place. It certainly did, so far as this point was concerned, and Mr. Barwell, who would not, otherwise, have deserted his friend, the Governor General, was permitted to embark for England. Unhappily, scarcely was this gentleman's back turned, but promises and protestations, tantamount to solemn engagements, were forgotten; and had it not been for Mr. Hastings' determined spirit, which soon averted the evil, he must have been again subjected to all the misfortune, disappointment, and disgust, which a vexatious opposition creates. The Council was reduced to three members, viz. Mr. Hastings, standing solely, Messrs. Francis and Wheeler, jointly. Their united voices were enough, to frustrate and arrest the execution of the best plan projected. With this view, Mr. Hastings proposed the formation of a detachment under Colonel Camac, to act in conjunction with the Rajah of Gohud, our ally, against Mehadajee Scindiahs Jagheers in the northern parts of India, the province of Malwah, wisely conjecturing that such an attack on this Chief's possessions, would soon detach him to their relief, from the confederated Mahrattah force, with which he was powerfully acting in the Peninsula, against General Goddard's army.

No sooner was it mentioned in Council, than Mr. Francis' objections arose, principally, on the score of œconomy, and a dislike to consider it, as a diversion operating in any shape, against that formidable enemy. Mr. Hastings stung to the quick, and justly considering in his own mind, that other motives influenced Mr. Francis' judgment, than those which were in his minute displayed, adverted personally to the breach of faith which he manifested, and this, in so pointed a manner, as to leave to Mr. Francis no alternative, but the obvious one, either to submit to the disgraceful odium, and absent himself from Council for ever, or resent the injury and aspersion thrown on his character, by the observations which Mr. Hastings had permitted himself to make. Indeed, so marked these were, as to have called up the notice of Mr. Markham, the late Archbishop of York's son, who being Mr. Hasting's private Secretary, could not but feel the unpleasant dilemma, in which he had thrown Mr. Francis. Mr. Hastings thanked him, praised his youthful discernment, and, consistent with his noble mind, frankly avowed, it was precisely the point, to which he had sought to reduce his adversary.

A challenge was the consequence; the parties met, assisted for their seconds, by the late Colonels Pearce and Watson, the one commanding the corps of Artillery, and the other the corps of Engineers. They baked the powder for their respective friends, loaded the pistols, and arranged every particular for the field contest. The issue was successful to Mr. Hastings. He wounded his antagonist, who, after a tedious recovery, thought only of resigning his office, and retiring to Europe.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the detachment was formed, marched, invaded Mehadajee Scindiah's territories, and proved subsequently of that singular service which Mr. Hastings had promised himself it would, by necessitating Scindiah to conclude a separate peace.

After the departure of Mr. Francis, Mr. Hastings was left without any controul. Mr. Wheeler, the only member of Council remaining, might minute, but his opinions could only serve to be recorded. Mr. Hastings' mind, unencumbered, thought alone on the pursuit of strong measures to cause a speedy end to the ruinous war, in which the Company was involved. For this purpose, he devized a journey to the Nawab Vizier Azoph ul Dhowlah's dominions, in order to correct the waste and delapidation, which had crept into the management of His Excellency's revenues, and by a good system of regulation, secure for the future their payment and just appropriation, and likewise, to punish the Rajah of Benares Cheytsing, by a severe mulct, for repeated acts of disobedience, which he had committed.—Vested with a Country, which at least brought him in, an annual income of seventy Laacks per annum; honored through the bounty of our Government, with Sovereign and Princely Rights; rated only to pay the moderate tribute of twenty four Laacks yearly, as the recognizance for the tenure of his Zemindarry, owing, in short, every protection, independence, and comfort, which he, so amply was in the enjoyment of, to the liberality of the Governor General, who thought to make him an useful auxiliary, should ever a rupture between the Company and the Nawab Vizier arise, was his heart ungrateful enough to stir up rebellion, to try to shake off every dependence, and to this effect, he sternly refused to contribute the small extra contingent of five Laacks, in addition to the fixed stipend, which he had been called upon for, as his proportion, towards the general aid, during the continuation of the war.

At first, measures tending to reclaim him, if possible, from his contumacy, were practised. These were ineffectual. In the true Zemindarry spirit, he denied, next promised, and finally tried again to evade the payment of the expected supply. Such conduct, required a prompt and decisive example to punish his disobedience. Mr. Hastings was prepared to inflict it, but never dreamt, that a force, to support his intentions, would be necessary. The sequel proved it so.—Never were the Company's interests unforeseenly plunged into such imminent danger. The British Indian Empire hung, as Mr. Hastings justly remarked, by the thread of opinion. In the Governor General's personal safety, was the life of every individual involved. Had that invaluable life been sacrificed on the occasion, among the other atrocious acts committed, every tie would have sunk, and in all probability, the world, and our Indian commercial rivals, would have been gratified, in seeing an end put to our dominion in the East.

Fortunately, Providence interposed, and put a stop to the commission of such deeds. The Rajah was justly punished in the loss of his country, and becoming a fugitive,

To give a faithful history of the transactions which occurred in this aweful and eventful scene, it is out of the power of the writer, to exemplify them, for the readers attention and perusal, better than referring verbatim to the accurate, intelligent, and elegant Narrative, which emanated from the pen of Hastings, when the whole of the occurrences were recent to his memory.

But, before I introduce them to the said Narrative, it would be an unjust omission, were I not, with others, to express the general concern, which all felt, on hearing the melancholy news of the

death of the Indian Hero, the gallant Coote. He had embarked, for the second time, to pursue the war with Hyder Aly, and to drive him out of the Carnatic. when being chased, between Balasore Roads and Madras, by a superior force, his anxiety was such, to escape from the enemy, combined with the vexatious thought, that he would, if made a prisoner, be deprived of bringing the war to the glorious conclusion, which he cherished the sanguine hope, by his prudent and decisive measures, to effect, as to cause him to remain, during a chace of forty eight hours, all the time on the deck, and from thence, when the ship anchored in Madras Roads, to be brought on shore insensible, and in this debilitated state, to give up the last breath of his unconquerable mind.

Mr. Hastings, who appreciated the value of his activity, readiness, and support, at the critical juncture in which the Government was placed, wished to eternize his memory, by having brought to Calcutta, and having fixed in the square, the immense column with the lion's image on the top, which was discovered in one of the provinces (Hajeepore, Subab Bahar) of the district, which I then superintended. He was pleased to suggest to me, of removing it upon truckles to the borders of the Gunduck, to have it floated down that river, upon rafts of timber, and next the Ganges; but the idea was abandoned, from the consideration of the expence, the trouble, and lastly, the danger attending its being damaged by the removal.

This pillar went by the name of Rajah Beemsings *Lattee* (*id est*, walking stick); and the only tradition, which I could ever obtain, was, that it had been there erected, in commemoration of an Hindoo Prince, of the greatest power of body and command of territory. This information, coupled with the geographical description given by Major Reynell, of the situation of Porus' dominion, left no doubt on my mind, it was for him this monument had been intended.—There were marks, like letters, hewn on the stone, but they proved perfect hieroglyphics, as the cleverest Pundits of the district of Tirhoot declared their incapacity to decypher the meaning.

By the narrative, it will be clearly seen, whatever rights and prerogatives were enjoyed by Cheytsing, beyond those of any other Zemindar or landholder under the Company's dominion, they derived from the bounty and indulgence of our Government. That, consequently, his obedience to its decrees was not optional, but positive in him to perform. That his means to relieve the sovereign state, exceeded far beyond the small extra contribution, required in a moment of exigency. That this he at first decidedly refused, next sought by every pitiful shift to evade, and finally, by such meanness and stubborn conduct, was driven into that rebellion, which ended in depriving him of his territories. Further, that his insolence had risen commensurate with his power and riches, in so much as to have dared to meet the Governor General of India, in whom the executive sovereignty rested, with an armed force, although, bearing in his recollection, as he must have done, that his former Sovereign the Nawab Vizier Shujah ul Dhowlah in the year 1773, coming from his capital on the same purpose, and learning on his route, that the Governor General was completely unattended, but by his usual staff and suite, dismissed himself his attendants, and with as humble a state, joined Mr. Hastings.

Before I conclude the transactions of this eventful period, I must be permitted to bring to notice, an anecdote descriptive of Mr. Hastings' sportive mind, even amidst the calamities and dangers which surrounded him. It fell to me to take the deposition of Jean Honoré Mordelai, the only one of the chasseurs, who survived the barbarous massacre, committed on them by Cheytsings' special order. The poor man, after describing the thick jungle, (Thicket) into which they had been con-

veyed, for the perpetration of the atrocious act intended, and relating the several wounds which he received, added, he had been left in it, all the night, *á la discrétion des Tigres*, Mr. Hastings jocosely asked me, if I ever heard of these animals possessing this virtue? I felt the pleasantry of his observation, and freed the sentence from its obvious absurdity, by supplying, for *discretion*, *mercy*, or *clemency*, the word "*exposed to the fury of the Tygers.*" The poor fellow, incapable, from the severity of his wounds, ever to serve again, was allowed to remain in the garrison of Chunar Stationary, upon a pension of four and twenty Rupees per month, which benevolent subsistence, he lived several years to enjoy, and express his gratitude to his Benefactors.

I must not however omit, before I quit the Benares subject, to record another trait of Mr. Hastings' magnanimity of mind, displayed even when the most imminent danger suspended over his precious life, and those of his attendants. Late in the afternoon, of that day, the evening of which we precipitately abandoned the city, his Highness the Nawab Saadut Aly, perfectly sensible of the inefficiency of our force and situation, to resist any attack, and fully aware from his emissaries, of the Rajah's wicked intentions, dispatched a confidential messenger, delicately proposing to Mr. Hastings, to join him with the thousand armed men, composing his retinue, to protect the Governor General's quarters. Mr. Hastings, averse to see any distinction made between *quarters* and *person*, the thought flashed instantaneously on his noble spirit, how improper it would be for the Ruler of the British empire in India, to be indebted for his safety to native auxiliary support, and, accordingly, politely declining the acceptance of the offer, directly adopted the resolution of fighting his way against all risks, and try to gain the Fort of Chunar. Possessed with the same greatness, equally calm and unruffled in this trying scene, trudging on foot through the narrow streets of Benares, one of the closest nights in that climate, it occurred to him, to convert the Nawab's readiness to be useful to those disabled, and others, appertaining to us, who, dispersed through the city in different habitations, could not have anticipated the project formed, and might, when apprized thereof, be impeded in effecting a junction. A message, as we were passing near his Highness' palace, was conveyed to him, requesting he would extend the advantage of his protection, to the wounded Sepoys of Colonel Popham's corps, and to those followers, accidentally prevented from marching with us. With this request, his Highness scrupulously complied, visiting in person with his own surgeon every day, the sick and wounded left in the hospital, supplying their wants, and carefully attended to preserve our servants free of molestation.

During our confinement at Chunar, the Nawab Vizier, Azoph ul Dhowlah, visited Mr. Hastings. The latter had received information from various quarters, tending to the prejudice of his highness' sentiments, regarding the English government, and conjuring the Governor not to trust himself in his power. Mr. Hastings felt however so satisfied with the tenor of his highness' conduct, ever since the troubles arose, into which we had so accidentally been plunged; and justly conceiving the Nawab Vizier would be ready to think, designing men had been eager in the opportunity of spreading reports to his disadvantage, that to dispel effectually every idea in his highness' mind of any such impression existing, the Governor determined on paying him the first visit, with his shabby retinue. I may well say, shabby; for having lost all our wearing apparel at Benares, where my pinnace, with others, had been scuttled, and rifled of every article in it, we had not a decent coat in which to make our appearance. We crossed the river accordingly, and amongst hosts of his troops passed perfectly unmolested, and were received by his Highness with every visible mark of gratitude and kindness, beaming on his dark visage.

The

The following are the names and stations of the gentlemen who comprized Mr. Hastings' suite, and who would, with their worthy Chief, have immediately fallen sacrifices to the murderous intent of those appointed to assail the Governor General's quarters, on the night of the 21st of August, had not their evil purpose been happily diverted, by the spirited and wise resolution which Mr. Hastings adopted of gaining the Fort of Chunar.

David Anderson, Esq. Assistant to the Governor General.—Stephen Sullivan, Esq. private Secretary to ditto.—Major William Palmer, Military Secretary to ditto.—Edward Hay, Esq. Deputy Secretary to Government.—Richard Sumner, Esq. Revenue Secretary to ditto.—Charles Chapman, Esq. Collector of Ramghur.—George Francis Grand, Esq. Head Commercial Assistant at Patna.—William Markham, Esq. Resident at Benares.—Richard Johnson, Esq. Second at Lucknow.—John Willes, Esq. Collector of Sylhet.—Edward James Colebrook, Esq. Persian Interpreter to the Governor General.—Mr. Peter Bowers, first Clerk under Mr. Sullivan.—Major William Popham, commanding a detachment at Merzapore.—Lieut. John Hamilton,* detached with two companies from the said corps, to serve as a body guard for the Governor General.—Lieut. John Edmund Grand, commanding under Lieut. Hamilton the Artillery (two 6 pounders) attached to the body guard.

There were other gentlemen, likewise, to the number, both in Civil and Military servants, that Mr. Hastings mentioned; but having kept no memorandum thereof, my memory, at this juncture, does not help me to the recollection of any other.

When I came to consider the event of our fortunate escape, and pondered over the reasons, which could be adduced for our miraculous preservation, I could not ascribe it, otherwise, than to the genius of those, not whom we had to contend against, but those at whose mercy we completely laid. In fact, it is in their nature not to expect success when engaged with Europeans. Their immediate object was to effect the release of the Rajah. This they accomplished. Beyond it, they harbored no secondary motive, however the design of their Chief extended afterwards to the hope of extirpating and annihilating the English Government, in consequence of the unlooked for turn which his revolt had created. Had his rank and family sprung from the princes of Hindostan, he might have been assisted in his wish; but for such an upstart, as he was, (the origin of his father being the meanest,) to summon men and rulers, of real noble descent, to join his standard, became with them, a mere matter of ridicule and contempt.

I must here digress, to supply an omission which occurred in the course of my Narrative, and did not present itself to my memory at the moment I was detailing the events of that period.—It is the following:—In justice to the characters of Sir John Clavering and of the Hon. Colonel Monson, they shone conspicuous as soldiers. In private life, likewise, their affability and spotless integrity, rendered them highly respected. Yet these men, always thinking they walked in the line of honor, suffered their minds to be so swayed, as to view with a jaundiced eye, every thing which had originated with Mr. Hastings. Instead of determining, on going into no retrospection of past measures, and preventing for the future every abuse in the system of Government, they involved themselves immediately into a labyrinth of trouble. They became the prey of every designing person who had felt disappointed in his views by the preceding administration. Even Sir John Clavering had avowed, he landed with a partial tendency to Mr. Hastings; nevertheless, at the very first meeting of Council, after the formal one which had been held for the respective members being

* Now Major General Hamilton of the King's army serving in Portugal.

being sworn into the stations assigned them, a marked disgust was obvious. Deficiency of decorum ensued, and provoked a personal meeting. The enemies to good order succeeded in this end. Not content with instituting every poison, and causing to be engendered every malignant prejudice in private, they went so far, as to collect mobs to impede his way to the Council house, and thereby to inflame the too credulous General against him who was the object of their pointed shaft. In one of these worked up fits of delirium, Sir John imprudently and hastily charged Mr. Barwell with malversation in the Salt Department.—So ill founded an accusation drew an instantaneous bitter reply. Mr. Barwell, conscious of the unmerited imputation, declared, "That the man who dared to come forward with such a charge, destitute of any proof, was a ————" The General put his hand to his sword; Mr. Barwell bowed, and retired: the Council broke up; and, in the field the next morning, attended by proper seconds, the former had a shot at the latter. Fortunately, no evil consequence resulted, and Mr. Barwell, lamenting a man, otherwise of such amiable virtues, could, in this instance, have been so injudiciously biassed, would not return his fire. His antagonist suspecting this delicacy arose from a growing attachment which he had observed to prevail between Miss Clavering (afterwards Lady Napier), called out loudly to him to take his chance of hitting him, for, in whatever manner their contest might terminate, the General added, Mr. Barwell could rest impressed, that he had no chance of ever being allied to his family; and, in the same passionate tone, expressed his resolution of firing a second pistol. Mr. Barwell, without explaining, but perfectly confident of the good grounds which dictated his mode of acting, persisted in his previous intention, and thus compelled the seconds to withdraw the hostile parties, professing their opinion, that the *point d'honneur* had been in full satisfied.

Returned to Benares, we amused ourselves with hunting and other recreations, until the moment occurred for quitting it, Mr. Hastings having given up the idea of proceeding to Luckuow, the arrangements which he had in view, to propose, when he left the Presidency for a journey to the upper provinces, for to benefit the Nawab Vizier's dominions, having incurred a change in his mind, from the *incidents arisen*. The 5th of February, 1782, was accordingly fixed for returning to the Seat of Government, and due notice having issued, every one prepared; but the day was suddenly deferred to the 6th, in order to celebrate Mr. Hastings' birth day, which it appeared he had promised Mrs. Hastings to observe, when he attained the age of fifty, and then again to repeat it when one hundred. Mr. Hastings was not aware of the cause of the delay, until, with the loudest acclamations, and with every wish he might reach the latter period, his health was drank with three times three, at the festive and hospitable board of Mr. Markham, the Resident of Benares, and the son of the late Archbishop of York.

On our way from Benares to Patna, I frequently paid my respects to Mr. Hastings at breakfast. One morning very early, I found him with the map of Bahar on his table, and examining with great minuteness the dimensions of the provinces of Tirhoot and Hajeepoore, the latter territory of which extends the distance of one hundred miles north of the Ganges, and as far as Mongheer. He mentioned, there had been symptoms of revolt amongst some of the Zemindars during the disturbances with Cheytsing, and expressed the necessity of an immediate European superintendance. Without awaiting any reply or observation from me, he suddenly asked me, if I thought myself capable of the administration of Collector? I replied, I trusted I could undertake the management to his satisfaction. Then, added he, let us breakfast, and so soon as it is over, I will give you a

letter for Mr. Charters, whom the Government have deputed as Commissioner, to revoke the Settlement, which, upon the abolition of the Provincial Councils, had been made with Rajahs Cullean-sing and Kyallaram, and to effect a new one, in whatever mode he should consider most consonant to the Company's interests.

"The letter was accordingly written, and I took my leave, proceeding with my credentials, as quick as possible, in a light boat day and night, the apprehension haunting me, Mr. Charters might, previous to my arrival, have fixed and entered upon some other arrangement regarding them. I arrived, however, in time, and was immediately ensured of my success. Before the month had elapsed, I received my nomination, and on the 4th of March, went to take possession.

This was an important event in my life. From Head Assistant to a Commercial Factory, in which the duties consisted of prizing of cloths, seeing Saltpetre weighed and loaded, attending to the accounts, &c. I was immediately transferred to the Government of two considerable provinces, involving the settlement and collection of the revenues, and the distribution and maintenance of justice.

It may well be imagined, that from so satisfactory a transition, I could not feel happiness in a greater extent than I did. A wide field opened to flatter my ambition. I looked forward to further rise, and determined to support my claims to such hopes, by commanding the esteem, attention, and approbation of my superiors, in the discharge of the weighty trust committed to my management. A few days after, embittered this contentment. I was plunged in the greatest grief. Intelligence arrived, that my dear brother Lieutenant Robert Edward Grand, of the 1st regiment of Native Cavalry, on whom Mr. Hastings, previous to quitting Benares, had bestowed the staff appointment of Quarter Master to the regiment in which he served, was killed in action on that very day, viz. the 4th of March, against some rebellious Zemindars in the Juanpore district. This might have operated as an evil prognostick that my career would be checked, and my fortunes subjected to a sudden vicissitude. Yet, however I reflected on the sorrow which mingled with joy on this occasion, I could not look from the repeated encomiums conferred, to so cruel a blow as the one which befell me. I shall here transcribe, for the reader's judgement, verbatim, the account which I wrote of it, some years since, to the same friend, for whose principal information, this Narrative originally was intended.

I shall pass over, cursorily, the first years of my life and services in India, with only one observation, (to which assertion I challenge the testimony of my much beloved brother servants, who, however by the caprice of fate, separated from, for life, I shall ever hold in the most pleasing remembrance those happy hours which I passed with such men), that in every Department I served, either Military or Civil, either in a subordinate situation, or as the chief, I merited and met with the repeated thanks of my superiors, the esteem of individuals, and the continued honored protection of my noble friend and patron, Warren Hastings, (a name that will live immortal in India, both with the Natives of all ranks, and those Europeans, who, from local residence, had the fairest opportunity of appreciating his great worth and talents), but with whose regretted departure from the Seat of Government, which he had held, with surprising vigour and success, thirteen successive years, commenced the period of my misfortunes and downfall in life.

Mr. Hastings left India in 1785, at which juncture I was Collector or Governor of the provinces of Tirhoot

hoot and Hajeepore. To this station I had been nominated by him and his Council unanimously in Febr. 1782.—I mention, *unanimously*, because he had then an opposition to contend with, in the persons of Sir John Macpherson, Baronet, and the late John Stables, Esq.—In this instance, these gentlemen gave their concurrence.—I took possession of a country yielding a revenue of above seven Laacks of Rupees, but which had suffered from the depredations committed by those who were compelled to abandon the charge to me, and had, besides, been in a state of revolt, owing to the intrigues of the Rajah of Benares, Cheytsing, whose baneful influence had spread so far, and would have spread further, had he not been checked in time by Mr. Hastings' wise and spirited measures.—I recovered a large balance due from the farmers to Government, quieted and appeased without bloodshed every disturbance, brought back the disobedient to a just sense of their errors, augmented the revenue, introduced the manufacturing of Indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishments of Indigo works and plantations, erected three at my own expence, and thus possessed at that moment of a fortune of 15,000 £ Sterling, looked forward to a proportionate augmentation, by continuing in my station and extending my manufactories, which, with my houses, lands, and furniture, tent equipage, horses, boats, &c. &c. stood then upon a valuation, and to which amount I received an offer, to resign and transfer all as they stood, of 10,000 £ Sterling more.

Sir John Macpherson received temporary charge of the Government, on the 1st of February, 1785.—In which station he remained until the arrival of Marquis Cornwallis, in September, 1786, when he reverted to his former situation of second in Council.

During this gentleman's administration, I was honored with his countenance, favor, and protection; and such was his sense, and his colleague's, John Stables, of the mode which I discharged the duties of my appointment, that they jointly introduced me to the Marquis, when, in November, 1786, I came down to the Seat of Government, to pay my respects to my new Chief, and to report the state of my district, and suggest what I considered requisite for its improvement, as one of the ablest revenue servants, and one of the most intelligent regarding the customs and usages prevailing in the provinces of Bahar.

In Appendix C will be seen the testimony, which his Lordship, soon after his arrival, bore to my merit; and from the purport of the said letter is visible likewise the approbation, which, such information conveyed, met with, from my immediate superiors the Board of Revenue.

These ties were insufficient to secure my permanence against the influence of patronage; for notwithstanding, I was guaranteed even by the Regulations of the Hon. Court of Directors, and the Regulating Act of Parliament in 1774, regarding the continuing in employ those revenue servants, whose conduct was unimpeachable, I was forced to give way to an individual of greater interest than myself.—(Appendix D. E. F.)

It might be presumed, that my letter of the 3d June, 1787, addressed direct to his Lordship, might have created a pang or an hesitation to commit so flagrant an act of injustice, but alas! every attempt, either by letter, or mediation of friends on the spot, (and particularly exerted by the members of the Board of Revenue), proved in vain to shake his Lordship's previous determination. My friends were amused in the interim, with fallacious hopes, and their own ideas, that such serious intention could not, in a mind considered upright, exist; and I was favored with no answer to my written application (Appendix G. H.)

Thus the blow was struck, and from that date I fell, perhaps never more to rise; view the portrait, and feel!!!

On

On the 26th of August, 1787, I was in full possession of my appointment, and my fortune was in that progressive state as described in 1785. I was in the enjoyment of every comfort, elegance, and luxury in life. I was beloved and respected by those living with me, my Assistants Messrs. David van der Heyden,* and Henry Colebrooke,† together with Mr. Steel, my Surgeon, and Mr. Purves,‡ my private Secretary; and I will say, because I challenge the contrary to be proved, or even asserted, almost venerated by the natives of every description under my Government, whose tears, on hearing of my removal, accompanied me from the place of my residence, to the Bank of the Ganges, where the limits of the district ceased, a distance of twenty five miles.

On thd 27th of August, 1787, by one stroke of his Lordship's pen, was Mr. Robert Bathurst nominated Collector of Tirhoot and Hajeepoore; and thus every hope and fair built prospect existing on the preceding day, completely blasted.

My houses, which I had erected at great expence in my district, my Indigo works, having at that moment three extensive ones of eight vats, each of fifteen by twelve feet, with every appendage of land and houses, seed, plants, &c. which had sunk a vast capital, and was only then promising to yield an indemnification; my furniture, tents, tent equipage, boats, horses, elephants, and all those requisites, which, to a man acquainted with India, are known to appertain to a person in station, became at once of no value, or rather at the arbitrary estimation, which the usurper of my situation chose to put upon them. In my memorial (Appendix J.) will be seen a part of the loss which occurred; and I will do Mr. Bathurst the justice to say, others might have taken an advantage, which himself disdained. In short, he allowed me for my houses *ten* thousand Rupees, when it might have pleased him to settle elsewhere, and thus have rendered my habitations, which had cost me *forty* thousand, not worth *one*. But, to liberality, this gentleman's disposition was never a stranger.

Thus ejected, I repaired to the Presidency, printed my case, and transmitted it to Europe to my relations Messrs. Edward and René Payne, the first one of the most respectable Bank Directors and merchants of the city; the second, independent of his partnership in the Hamburgh line with his uncle Mr. Edward Payne, an associate likewise in the banking house of Smith, Payne, and Smiths.§ These gentlemen had interest to be heard in behalf of the relation who they honored with their patronage. I had completed a plain tale, by annexing the thanks of the Board of Revenue, and the repeated ones of Government, to the pamphlet. Its statement could not therefore have been controverted, and the whole would have stamped such an apparent dereliction of all principle of justice on the noble Marquis Cornwallis, that his friend and supporter at the head of the Board of Controul, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, used every conciliatory means to stop its circulation. My friends were moderate men, always disposed from true patriotism to yield pretensions for themselves and relations, where they thought, and were taught to believe, great public benefit might be derived. They saw his Lordship's continuance in office in this light, and remained content with assurances I should be recommended, and my wrongs redressed. This they notified to me, with the sense, which such a violation of all rule and precedent had caused, imparting

* Since Member of Parliament for Westloe.

† Since Member of the Supreme Council in Bengal.

‡ Since retired to England with a considerable fortune, derived from his Indigo Manufactories.

§ The first, viz. Robert Smith, Member of Parliament for Nottingham, since created a Peer of England, by the title of Lord Carrington.

imparting that I stood high in the estimation of the gentlemen in Leadenhall street, the Court of Directors, and that a public testimony of my administration would be conveyed in the most flattering terms, (vide Appendix K.)

Alas! these men, ever to be regretted by those who knew their public and private virtues, little knew the insufficiency of such a measure. They were strangers to that maxim, which, however horrid, still is just, and forms amongst courtiers, of which Lord Cornwallis had from his youth graced the train, a part of their political creed. It was laid down by Rochefaucault, and has ever been assiduously followed by such men in power. Need I quote it? It stands high as the truest axiom, "The man who injures you, never forgives."

In no case has this cruel tendency been more closely illustrated than in mine; for it scarcely will be credited, that I shall expose its bitter continuance, in this noble but ignoble mind, wherever an opportunity was afforded, to gratify his spleen.

I take no shame to myself that I entertained no such idea.—I was not, as the event proved, so well versed, as others, in the ways of the world. I felt an approbation of what my friends had done, although it went not to repair in the smallest degree, the heavy loss which had attended my recall, and I rejected, in consequence, the advice of those who pressed me, to resign the service, and follow up to England the spirit of the contents of my pamphlet, which submitted to the wisdom of the Court of Directors, whether, from the illegality of the act, so informal and unprecedented, I was not *bona fide* in their consideration, the sole Collector of Tirhoot, and not Mr. Bathurst?

But happy would it have been for me, had I adopted their advice, instead of following and acting upon the too generous and delicate sentiments which I felt. I am bold in thus construing them, because, had such men been out of the question, no persuasion on earth would have induced me to relinquish the pursuit of such claims. They impelled me to incline towards what I deemed more reasonable, and, at a juncture, when great decisions stamp the character of men, I sunk into a desire to temporize. I remained inactive in Calcutta, without any employment, but with every hope, viz. of being soon restored to the revenue line, agreeably to Marquis Cornwallis' positive assurance to me to this effect, and which, if he lives ever to see this, I challenge his honor, as a Peer of the Realm, to declare, whether such assertion existed in truth or not?

So far from such promise having been considered binding by him, I had the mortification of seeing in this interval others preferred. This partiality affected me,—I fell ill in consequence, and, from my brother in law's house Mr. Robert Ledlie, I removed to my friend Mr. Cockerell's house at Belvidere, where the air of the country, a good constitution, flattering messages from the Government house, and even his Lordship, in his afternoon rides, calling to enquire after my health, occasioned my recovery, more speedily, than a proud mind, deeply wounded, might otherwise have been.

But alas! must I again repeat, my sanguine disposition, naturally excited by a confidence in men, and a reliance on the honor of such a chief, was a second time proved to be at variance, with my judgment. I only revived to be once more grossly deceived. In September, 1788, Lord Cornwallis, without any previous intimation, as customary with every appointment in the civil service, unsought

witnesses, which he had adduced; or whether *grounded* and *arisen from partiality, or other improper motives in the Judge?*—These, in his petition for appeal, which could never be denied him, were to be stated distinctly.

Every one acquainted with India, knows well, that such is the litigious disposition of the Natives, such the art of those admitted to plead in behalf of their clients, that it has not been unusual often to observe from fifty to sixty depositions on the respective side of either plaintiff and defendant; and being equally, however contradictory, in their effect, affirmed on oath, creates the greatest difficulty in coming at the truth.—With this view, and to avoid a labyrinth of trouble to Government, by directing their judgment at once to that part alone, which, in the petitioner's eye and sense, rendered the Judge's award and decree exceptionable, was this proposition made. Nevertheless, it was rejected, and an intimation conveyed, which, in my answer to his Lordship, I spurned, viz. that it was considered as a design existing to crimp the appellant in his full privilege of appeal.—Here all further correspondence ceased!!!

From the character given in the foregoing part of the Narrative of the noble Lord, and of the maxim which governed him in life, where an individual had been bold enough to arraign his justice, the reader may be prepared for the heavy vicissitude which befel my state, caused by the exercise of his arbitrary power, and which, to my sorrow, I have now to relate.

Yet, I will freely own, that, could I have foreseen the consequences which followed, I might have deported myself in a manner more humble, and probably shewn more pliancy to his almighty will, than a consciousness of the chastising rod being unmerited, led me to do. It was not possible for me to think, that, entrenched as I felt myself, by covenanted rights, sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, I should find myself ejected from a service, to the highest elevation of which, I had fondly looked, and in which, my only dependence for bread, and for provision in my older days, rested. Nevertheless, this reverse occurred. It fell to my lot to experience, that, without a specific charge brought forward, without that charge, or charges, regularly examined, tried, and decided upon, subject to an appeal to my Honorable Masters, I was to be thrust out of a service, in which I had honorably served above thirty years, and finally reduced, at an advanced age, to seek my subsistence in a foreign land.

Some friends, prepossessed with a sense of my innocence, attempted to interpose with his Lordship. They urged in my behalf, that from the situations which I had filled,-even not rapacious men, but men, actuated by moderate views, would have amassed, in such a course of years, such a fortune, as would have made them indifferent with regard to the result. That my hospitality, and disregard for money, were as notorious, as the desire, which I had always evinced, in winning, by my official conduct, the approbation of my superiors.—They recalled to him, I had deserved, and met the annual thanks of Government, his Lordship's own, in the latter year of my administration in Tirhoot, and finally, the thanks of the Court of Directors, publicly and formally conveyed to me, by the Secretary to the Board of Revenue;* and that these were considerations, which, they hoped, would command his attention. All effort was vain.—I had offended the haughty Peer, who would be thought immaculate, and I must be sacrificed. Nay, he bitterly, and sarcastically added, he had good ground for concluding, that, however I might appear destitute of a sufficient provision for life, coeval with my length of service, and the lucrative offices I had

* Now the Chief Judge of Appeal, Mr. John Herbert Harrington, a gentleman whom I am proud to call my friend, and whose sentiments coincided completely with mine on the permanent settlement of the lands. Vide his letters to Lord Cornwallis on the said subject.

had been vested with, yet, there were sums of magnitude, which I had remitted, and which awaited my return to Switzerland. I dared his Lordship to any such proof, and, in the mean while, offered to purge my conscience of any such accusation, by the most solemn oath, affirmed before him, or before any magistrate he should select. My friends were convinced of the malignancy of the assertion; they entreated his Lordship to produce the accuser; this, he refused, and obstinately resisted every conviction, which ought to have flashed on his mind from such declarations.

In fact, his Lordship was ashamed of the engine whence he had drawn such foul streams. Subsequent events, occurring to others, and which forced his Lordship to disown him, pointed him out, to be no other than the *famous*, or, rather *infamous*, Robert Morris, the Secretary to the Assembly which had been held in England, for the support of the Bill of Rights; but better known, by his having eloped, and tricked into a marriage, the ward of chancery, Miss Harford, and left to his care by his friend the late Lord Baltimore.

From the decision which took place against him, and his matrimonial speculation being rendered void, he justly thought England was not the country for him to remain in, and he smuggled himself out to India. Landed in that country, where his practices, as he thought, would remain unknown, or at least unnoticed, he boldly proposed himself to plead in the Supreme Court, grounding his claim to such admission, from his having been regularly entered a Barrister in the Temple.—His effrontery did not serve him. Sir William Dunkin, one of the Puisne Judges, who, with the much regretted Sir William Jones, and Sir Robert Chambers, formed the Bench of His Majesty's Supreme Court of Justice, rejected his petition in open Court, and added, he should not hesitate to unfold the reasons, if Mr. Morris thought proper to press him for an explanation. Mr. Morris rather deemed it convenient to bow and retire. This disappointment embittered a mind already irritated, and he resolved to vent his spleen, where ever he could find an opportunity to breed mischief.—With this view, he determined on leaving the Presidency, and having excited suspicion in a mind* prone to imbibe such venom, he was led to believe his information and remarks, as he travelled to the upper provinces, would be considered ungreeable.—My brother in law, (Mr. Robert Ledlie), who was likewise an English Barrister, and had been acquainted with him in England, was applied to by him, for letters of introduction to his brother the Judge and Magistrate of Patna, which he prudently declined.—This was intimated to me by him, observing, that knowing my disposition to attend to his recommendations, he had rejected this, conceiving, the person in question, a very improper one, to become an inmate of any family, for whom he entertained a regard. This communication influenced my conduct towards him. He left his card. I returned mine, but fully resolved he should not experience the civility of numbering himself as one of my guests, at any party which I gave.

In a city like Patna, where many dissatisfied beings could not but exist, he met with such, which suited his purpose. Taking advantage of my absence on the Saturday and Sunday at a friend's, in the military cantonment of Dinahpore, a distance of fourteen miles, he suddenly visited my jail, saying he had the Governor, Lord Cornwallis' orders to inspect the prisons, and to report their state. Every one versed with the nature of those natives, who happened to be in confinement, will directly conclude, they, with one voice told him, their detainment was unjust. Provided with paper, pen, and ink, and a Portuguese Priest who wrote Persian, he hastily framed petitions, and obtained their signatures. All this was effected, before my Nazir, who resided with me at Beeknapahree,

* Need I state Lord Cornwallis'?

five miles from the city, could arrive, agreeably to the summons, which his deputy had sent to him, on the appearance of this European gentleman demanding entrance, by command of such authority as he quoted.

To any stranger expressing such a desire, the request would never have been refused; but, in this instance, the report from the Nazir, who galloped out to me, with a detail of the transactions which had taken place, left not one moment's doubt on my mind how to act. I immediately issued a warrant to arrest Mr. Morris, and hold him in confinement, till a boat, with suitable accommodation, was made ready to send him to his employer, with the various petitions which he had collected, and under an officer's guard of Sepoys to secure their delivery. His faithful Padree's vigilance saved him from incurring this disgrace. Wisely apprehending what would follow, he advised his companion in iniquity to move off with Pandora's box, and to forward it by some safe opportunity to his Lordship. Before the mandate could be served, they had escaped into another jurisdiction, whence, as I understood afterwards, the Priest was dispatched with the combustibles which they had prepared.

But, to any one inclined to think well of the character of Lord Cornwallis, can it be thought possible, that his Lordship with such loose materials, which he could not understand, nor would give to others to explain, should come to Council with his pockets filled, and, without allowing any of the members of his Council to look into them, each of whom would immediately have discerned their futility, direct the immediate recall of a covenanted servant of so many years, and one who had acted four years in his then station of Judge and Magistrate of a great city.—Nay, in order to ensure my instantaneous removal, and to seize on the papers of my Court, were both Mr. Archibald Seton, Collector of Gyah, and Mr. Henry Douglas, formerly my Register, ordered to repair to the spot, to assume the official charge of my trust.

I obeyed, but prejudiced, as I was, against the noble Peer's arbitrary acts, and fully aware of his inveteracy towards me, I solemnly declare, I did not harbor an idea, I could have been marked as an object for such persecution. Landing at Berhampore, my eyes were soon opened to view the state in which I was thrown, by so informal, so illegal, and so unprecedented a process. My friend Major Edward Clark* then held the command of the cantonments, and seeing me coming, to make a friendly call, half seriously, half jocosely, when accosting each other, put the question to me, whether it was mine, or the officer's wish *who had the guard over me*, to have it relieved? He added, it was the general report throughout the country, that I was proceeding, under such distraint, to the Seat of Government, an occurrence which had given him, and my other friends at his station, the greatest concern.

It may naturally be judged, with what temper I continued my journey. I posted day and night, and the moment I found myself at the house of my brother in law in Calcutta, I conveyed by a servant, a written intimation thereof to Colonel Ross, his Lordship's private Secretary, entreating, however it was not a regular levee day, I might yet be honored with an audience the next morning. Colonel Ross returned his compliments, and mentioned Lord Cornwallis would see me at ten o'clock. I was punctual; and, after the first salutation, I remarked his Lordship, evidently, felt embarrassed. Probably he had, in the intervening time, satisfied himself with the nature of what he had, so surreptitiously, been furnished with, and was sensible they were too vague, to deduce into any specific charges. Indeed his countenance seemed to soften. He even deigned a smile, saying, to break the pause. that it seemed to him, the good fat beef, for which Patna stood renowned,

* Now Major General on the Bengal Staff Establishment.

nowned, had agreed very well with me. I replied directly, that I, thank God, was well in body, but cruelly diseased in mind.

In the same tone I proceeded. I asked his Lordship, what could have been the cause, for my being so suddenly ordered to repair to the Presidency? The answer was, he had received complaints, which, he graciously added, he hoped I should be able to refute. I observed, I was ignorant of any having been preferred, but, admitting his Lordship had that ground to have occasioned his conduct towards me, yet in cases of this nature, there was a regular mode of proceeding laid down, without the necessity of having recourse to such an unusual form as had been adopted. That treated as I had been, and in the world's estimation, actually prejudged, I had only to express my sincere wish and anxiety, that his Lordship would be good enough to bring forward *his* charges with the least possible delay, when, after a due examination of what their contents were, I should be able to reestablish my lost reputation, to his, my friends, and the public's satisfaction. That however, before I took my leave, I must tell him, it was possible I might, in the discharge of an office of such magnitude, be found culpable of formal omissions, but, as to any point which could involve and attach on me criminally, I defied my worst of enemies to bring forward a charge in this shape. With these impressive words, which I uttered forcibly, I rose, and departed; his Lordship, half angry at the boldness of spirit which I displayed, and half confused, muttering something indistinctly, to which I, of course, paid no attention.

I received the dinner invitation, which a non-resident in Calcutta was in the custom of being honored with, when his arrival at the Presidency had been announced at the Government house. I returned it politely to the Aide de Camp, remarking, I could not think of appearing as a guest at his Lordship's table, until I was sure, he would survey me, with sentiments different to those his severity towards me denoted, he must have entertained. I resolved moreover, contrary to the opinions of some friends, more accommodating in their disposition, than I unfortunately was, and I readily own, more consummate in their knowledge of the world, to abstain from attending his Lordship's regular Levees, but to await patiently the moment, when it would please him, to relieve my anxiety, by making me formally acquainted with the charges which he could proffer, from the representations which he possessed. I might long have looked for this result.—Three months had elapsed, and no thought thereof existed.—My friends lamented, they could make no change in my determination. I knew, I was immaculate on the score of corruption. I felt, I was defending the covenanted rights of my brother servants, deeply infringed upon, and injured in my person. I stood firm.—His Lordship, I apprehended, apprized I was unalterable, deemed it necessary, to take some step, either to justify, or, at least, to palliate the measure which he had pursued. Accordingly, he instituted, *three* months after I had been summoned to attend at the Seat of Government, professionally, to purge myself of heavy charges, a committee to assemble on the spot, and there, after giving notice for what purpose they were met, to *enquire, ascertain*, and, finally *to decide en dernier ressort*, on what might appear before them, which might attach, and affect the manner in which I had discharged the offices with which I had been entrusted. An intimation, conveyed by the Secretary of Government, was the first notice which I received of this star chamber institution.

In this same letter,* it was communicated to me, that I had liberty, either in person or by regular appointed *Vakeel*,† to attend the committee, and answer *the charges which might be brought against me*. This permission

* Vide Appendix.

† Id est, a Native Agent.

permission was issued full two months after this junto had been formed, and had full time to obtain, in every manner which they chose to exercise, whatever could operate against the individual, whose condemnation, they must have seen, from the nature of their instructions, and nature of their mission, would prove a gratification to the all ruling power.

I read the letter with astonishment!—I felt what ground I had to stand upon. I felt how untenable their's was.—I am told, *early in November*, by the Governor, that the reason of my recall from the seat of my administration, arose, from charges preferred against me; and, *in the month of March ensuing*, I am apprised by order, of the same authority, that a committee had been nominated *in January*, to meet, sit *at Patna*, and to proceed to trial and judgement, to which place I had liberty to repair, and appear personally, or, *by native delegate*, before this strange constituted board, to relate what they (this identical tribunal) *might have collected*, against the Judge and Magistrate of a city, who had in these functions acted for four years, over an extended population of above three hundred thousand people, comprehending Hindoos, Mahomedans, Sics,* and Europeans; the latter of whom thought themselves out of the reach of any police regulation, until I convinced them to the contrary, by those which I established for the maintenance of good order, and to which they subsequently readily subscribed.

Mark, that during this period of four years, no complaint had been preferred! Mark, that the loose petitions transmitted, were found too groundless, too malicious, and too idle, to found any direct accusation upon! Mark, the source whence they sprang, with which I was well acquainted. At this hour, labouring under the misfortunes and inconveniencies of life, which this reverse has occasioned, I cannot but reflect, however inconsistent my determination may have been with the advocates of prudence, and that maxim, "*never run your head against a stone wall*," yet, that I must have possessed a poor mind, indignant as its sensations were, against such unparallelled treatment, had I not come to the resolution of exposing such unwarrantable persecution as I had experienced.

Without cavilling at the nature of the letter which I had received,† I simply replied, I should set off immediately, and attend in person, apprehending, as I did, that no gentleman, vested with the high situations which I had been, would think of entrusting the defence and vindication of his fair fame, honor, and reputation, to a native agent.

I reached Patna in five days.‡ Instead of receiving on my arrival, the compliments of the gentlemen of the station, and those of the principal inhabitants, I found myself already in the light of a criminal actually proscribed and prejudged. Scarcely had I recovered from the fatigue of travelling post to my habitation, in the short space of time mentioned, and in the hottest weather, than I received an official letter from the committee, announcing to me, that they had assembled and met, and would resume their proceedings on the next day, when they intended to go into an enquiry of such representations which had been made to them, since *they had commenced their sittings*; and summoned me, accordingly, to attend in person, or by agent.

I could no longer contain myself. My feelings, however acute, which to this moment I had used every exertion of the mind to suppress, burst into loud indignation. To learn, they had constituted themselves

* Nanick Shah, the founder of their sect, erected in Patna his first religious edifice, and was interred in its bosom.

† Vide Appendix.

‡ A distance of above four hundred miles from the Presidency.

themselves a Court, and entered *ex parte* into proceedings *before my arrival*, was, beyond what I thought, men, with any sense of propriety, would have allowed themselves to act!!! I conceived therefore the instructions, which they had received, to occasion such a dereliction of all form, must be as wonderful, as the whole of the process against a covenanted servant, (subject alone to established rules, framed for all such cases, and sanctioned by Act of Parliament), appeared in the eyes of all my brother servants.—With these sentiments I took up my pen; I set forth the right which I claimed to have a copy of their instructions; I must see what could justify, or rather, palliate such a mode of proceeding, as it appeared, from the purport of their letter, they had thought proper to adopt; I must see, likewise, the *original charges*, which could have dictated the necessity of such instructions, admitting it was, under their force, and not spontaneously, they acted. I should then decide upon the summons, which they had been pleased to transmit for my guidance.

Their reply was such as I expected. They had *no original charges* given to them, to found their enquiry; and, ergo, *no necessity existed, but that of obvious persecution intended, to warrant such an appointment.* They rejected my request, to be furnished with a copy of their instructions; finally, they acquainted me, they should, on the next day, proceed, *whether I attended or not*, to examine into the validity, of what had been presented to claim their notice, *since their arrival.**

My rejoinder was concise. I expressed my satisfaction, to find *the ground of my recall had originated in suspicion*, and which avowal, confirmed the whole of the illegality of the proceedings which had, from the commencement, obtained against me. That it would be my business to ascertain, how far any executive power was warranted in adopting such a line of conduct towards an individual, who felt for the violation of those rights, in which he had, from the tenor of written documents, considered himself, since his entrance into the civil service, secured against every possible infringement. That, without going into any further detail, or adverting to the informality of their assembling, constituting themselves into a tribunal, and proclaiming the purpose for which they had met, ere I was on the spot, to refute the complaints, which, by such a system, as was visible, had governed them, I could not, but say, *they had invited*; I should leave them to a continuation of their *ex parte* procedings; particularly, as I found they had, in their letter, declared their fixed resolution to this intent, and, consequently, whether I attended or not, must be, in their consideration, perfectly immaterial. I ended, with protesting against whatever they might think proper to deduce and represent.

I repaired a second time to the Presidency, losing no more time on my journey, than, what was requisite, to perform it by water, a period of fifteen days.—I recapitulated to the Secretary of Government the objections which had arisen, and which had influenced my determination, not to recognize a tribunal so constituted, and one which had proved itself capable of acting in the highly objectionable manner which they had done; at the same time, professing myself ready, to answer to any specific charges which his Lordship might think expedient to bring against me, from the nature of the information which he had received. I took this opportunity of inserting in my official letter, *which must stand on record in the consultations of April*, 1793,—what I had declared *verbatim* to the noble Peer, viz. "That, possibly, there might have been errors of form in my administra-
"tion, but that I dared my worst of enemies, to come forward with any accusation, *involving, or* "*bordering, on criminality.*"

* Vide Appendix O.——Instructions.

Lord Cornwallis replied. He acknowledged my sudden recall had been built upon suspicion, and vindicated his measure, from an apprehension that, had I remained on the spot, I might have defeated all enquiry, as it seemed in this instance, I had evaded it, *by absenting myself from the place where the enquiry was pending.*

I brought in proof, to refute this assumed position, the indignities to which I had calmly submitted, from the commencement of this unheard of and unprecedented process; the patience, with which for five months, I had awaited at the Presidency, where my attendance was commanded; the result of his Lordship's assurances given verbally on the first day of audience, viz. "That he "should produce his charges against me, and call upon me to answer them, without the least pos- "sible delay;" the readiness which I displayed, when his Lordship changed his mind, and directed me to return to Patna; the anxiety which I still harbored, and which I conjured him to dispel, by accusing me directly on whatever score *he prejudged me culpable;* entreating, likewise, he would desist to proceed *to any extremity*, until he had listened and seen my vindication, which could alone empower him to act *unprejudiced.*

I ventured on this last remonstrance, from his having, and without assigning any reason, ejected me from my station, by the actual appointment of Mr. Henry Douglas, to be the Judge and Magistrate of Patna, vice Mr. Grand.

In effect, this *summa injuria* took place on the 4th of April,* and on that memorable day, *to give a color* to the arbitrary conduct, which he must have been sensible, he had exercised towards me, it was enacted, that *any Native*, who, *hereafter*, should proffer any accusations against a Judge and Magistrate, was to give security in an amount, three times to the extent of what might be adjudged, was the enormity of the crime with which the culprit stood charged. I must here transcribe it at length for the reader's information.

Extract from the regulations enacted by Lord Cornwallis in April, 1793, for *the better* administration of justice.—"If any person shall charge the Judge of a city, or Zillah Court, before the Provincial Court "of the division, with having been guilty of corruption, in opposition to his oath, the Provincial Court is "to receive the charge, and to forward it to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut; provided the complainant "shall previously make oath to the truth of the charge, and give security, in whatever sum the Court may "judge proper, to appear and prosecute the charge when required.

But the principles on which these rules have been established, may be best explained, by an extract from the minute of Lord Cornwallis, by whom they were introduced, dated 11th Febr. 1793.

"To prevent the character of the Judges being wantonly aspersed, rules should be laid down, to deter "people from making groundless accusations. The Provincial Courts should not be permitted to make "enquiries in the first instance, into the charges that may be preferred against the Zillah or City Judges, "but should be directed to forward them to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. This Court shall issue a spe- "cial commission to the Provincial Court to make such enquiries, and to take such evidences respecting "the charges as it may think adviseable. The observation of this formality will be essential; it will not "obstruct the bringing forward of well founded complaints; at the same time, it will operate to deter "people from making groundless charges. To delegate to the Provincial Courts of Appeal a power to en- "quire

* Vide Memorial 30th June, Appendix P.

"quire into such charges, without a previous reference to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, would, in fact, "be making the Judges of the City and Zillah Courts personally subject to their authority. This would "even deprive the City and Zillah Judges of all weight and consequence in the eyes of the people, and "lessen that respect with which it is necessary they should look up to their decisions. The Judges of "the Provincial Courts should possess no authority over the Judges of the City and Zillah Courts perso-"nally; their controul over them should be only that of a superior Court empowered to revise their de-"crees, when regularly brought before them in appeal."

When the purport of these is considered, I apprehend, the impartial decision will be, from their application being so evident to my case, that they emanated in consequence of what had occurred against me, when accusations were invited, *subsequent* to the disgrace of *recall* inflicted, and, however well known, the prejudged manner in which they were conveyed for examination, yet could not force, nor operate a conviction!!!

I repeat, that this regulation issued, from the disappointment which his Lordship had felt in the petitions, which had been so clandestinely transmitted to him, proving entirely groundless. I rely, it will also satisfy those versed in the character of the natives of India, that this very rule tended in its purport to defeat every wish, which might have operated in his mind, in order to lead to condign punishment, any Civilian in office, so wanton to his trust, and to his fame, as to have been guilty of corruption in its exercise. Why not, on the contrary, admitting this had been the view, and not that which I shrewdly suspect, of gratifying an unjust personal resentment imbibed against the individual, have adopted the mode which I had recommended? viz. the *charging directly in the petition for appeal*, against his decrees, the Judge, either for a misconstruction of the Mahomedan or Hindoo law, or his judgement proceeding from a *partial bias*.

I have now related what I personally experienced. I had suffered enough, from appeals to England, to be completely deterred from urging a second. Sir John Shore had, in the mean while, arrived from England to succeed to the Government, and my friends advised me to look to that period, which was approximating, for a certain hope of redress. I acquiesced, lived in hope, humbly preferred my claim, and was literally amused until June, 1798, when, after having received no replies to the several letters, which I addressed to Government on this point, viz. of preferment, agreeably to my rank, and the situations which I had filled, I came to the resolution of forwarding, through the Governor in Council, the appeal* to the Court of Directors, and eventually to follow it up, which I did, by departing for England in February, 1799.

The political occurrences, during the period which comprised my nomination to Patna in September, 1788, and the moment of my departure, involved an important and critical epoch for the permanency of the British interests in India. The first event consisted in the sudden and unexpected irruption of Tippoo Saheb in the Carnatic, and the ineffectual opposition which, in the course of one campaign, General Sir William Meadowes had carried on against him. Lord Cornwallis thought to be more successful. His personal bravery, and zeal for his Country's welfare, were undoubted. It was enough for him to deem his presence would be useful in subduing the enemy, not to hesitate one moment, with a sacrifice to every personal convenience, to fly to the scene of action. Fortunate would it have been for the interests of his employers, that he had proved so good a General, as he indubitably was, a daring soldier.—Had his Lordship

* Vide Appendix Q.

ship possessed the former qualification, he might, by his exertions, sagaciously and prudently dictated, have spared to them the expence of two more campaigns, ere his antagonist was reduced to the necessity of suing for peace.—His mistakes, as a General, had much endangered the Company's Sovereign interest. Instead of proceeding direct to Seringapatnam, after the capture of Bangalore, which afforded him a strong post for a dépôt, he continued losing the best time of the season, by besieging every fort and fortified position, laying between Bengalore and the Sultan's capital. The consequence was obvious to every one who foresaw the operations of the siege intended, would be frustrated by the early setting in of the rains, and the swelling of the river, which would render every approach established, of no effect.—It so turned out; the works were destroyed by the violence of the torrents falling from the elements; the Beoparries (men accustomed to come in droves to supply the market) were debarred from the possibility of vending their commodities.—Rice, and other grain, became scarce in the market; roads were impracticable for artillery; the camp was obliged to break up; the siege raised; the heavy battering guns spiked; and, finally, a resolution taken, for officers and men to disperse in small bodies, and gain Bangalore, in the best confused manner possible. All this was to be effected on the next ground which they were to occupy; but Providence interposed, to obviate this fatal measure.—On the morning of that memorable day, which must have caused their misery, if not completed their destruction, as the vanguard was moving on in solemn dejection, Colonel William Scott, the Quarter Master General, fell in with the Mahrattah allied army, which ought, agreeably to treaty, long before to have effected its junction, and co-operated with the besieging army under the walls of Seringapatnam.—The glad tidings entirely overpowered Lord Cornwallis' feelings, and as completely destroyed his prudence. The two Chiefs met.—His Lordship, with the candor of an English heart, conceiving he had to do with a generous ally, instead of a freebooter, (ever ready, from principles of self interest, the only guide for their actions, to join the strongest, or the power which payeth best), imparted to him the situation to which he had been reduced, and congratulated himself and army, that the Mahrattahs had come, so opportunely, to cover by their cavalry the rear of a retreating army, harrassed by sickness, and destitute of provision, which they now, from the happy change which had occurred, would amply be furnished with.—Here was the misfortune of a Commander not knowing the genius of the people whom he had to deal with, and acting upon *his* judgement, when the advice of others, more experienced, and versed with the nature of their disposition, would have operated for the service more favorably. Add to this error, the gross one of being such an œconomist in the disbursement for intelligence, so requisite in India, and so easily obtained where liberality is held out, as not to have known, where the Mahrattah allied army was, until falling in with it by accident.

The natural consequence followed to the *unreserved* communication made. *The Mahrattah army were wearied*, from the *forced marches* which they had performed, *in their anxiety* to join his Lordship. The provisions which accompanied their Bazar, (Market) were no more than would serve for their own consumption, and as to marching towards Bangalore, this was totally impossible, as they had mostly come without money, depending upon arriving time enough, to share in the capture and plunder of the Sultan's capital. In proof of the pleaded scarcity, every article in their said Bazar, had in one day risen to *four times* the amount, for which it was sold before the appearance of the English army. To end this melancholy tale, Lord Cornwallis' army was obliged to submit to these augmented prices, for the supplies they wanted, and his Lordship was obliged to part with what treasure he had, and give assignments for twelve laacks of rupees, ere he could induce the crafty Mahrattah, to move from the ground which had been so productive to his grasping views.

The

The operations of the next campaign became more certain in their issue. They were begun early in the season, and had, consequently, no difficulty to meet in their prosecution. Tippoo's protecting army was attacked by three different columns, beaten, driven across the Cavery, and compelled to take refuge within the walls of the Capital, the siege of which being pursued with ardor, and the immediate assault by storm dreaded, brought on proposals for capitulation.

The conclusion is known. The haughty Sultan was obliged to comply with the terms imposed. A Mulct of three millions of Pagodas, and half his territory, both which land and money were regularly to be divided in three proportions, the English Government one third, the Nizam one third, and the Mahrattahs the remaining third.

In this attack, Lord Cornwallis did not display that penetration, which a General officer, brought up regularly in the Company's service, would have done, from a full knowledge of the enemy whom he had to oppose. His Lordship directed his army at ten at night, so soon as the moon rose, to move forward in three columns, pointing out in his orders the road each was to observe, keeping certain distances, one from the other, and to rush on with the bayonet, unmindful of the batteries which impeded the road, to assault without artillery an entrenched camp. He led the centre, and assigned to Sir William Meadowes the right. The moon did not shine with that brightness which he hoped for, to secure against any disappointment. The consequence was, that Sir William, instead of taking the circuitous road which was fixed upon, to avoid one of the principal batteries, which defended the approach of the camp, fell in directly with it, and got so entangled, that to storm it, was the only possible mode of extrication. This early firing alarmed and prepared Tippoo. Having learnt by his spies, the disposition which his Lordship had made of his troops, he hastily collected his *corps d'élite* (chosen corps), and with them bent all his force to penetrate and resist Lord Cornwallis' centre column, judging, from the nature of the ground, the left could not form a junction in time to support, and fully aware the right had sufficient employment in its endeavours to carry the battery.

The unexpected offensive operation of Tippoo had nearly disconcerted every hope of success. His Lordship was in the greatest danger; and had it not been for the gallantry of His Majesty's 52d Regiment, and a battalion of Bengal Sepoys, commanded by Captain Henry White, would infallibly have been made a prisoner. These Corps were sacrificed in security for his person. Tippoo, finding the object of his immediate impulse frustrated, fled to the Fort, and his troops, in scattered bodies, followed him.

Sir William's column was twice or three times repulsed, but at length drove the enemy out of the battery, and established themselves in it. The morning broke, and from the dispersion of the several bodies of the English army, afforded a proof of the imprudence of a night attack, particularly, where the efficient force, from its separations, was precluded to act with that energy, which might, otherwise, have been expected from them. I have heard the late Major General Duff, bred up from his infancy a soldier in Bengal, and who commanded the artillery, assert, that he did every thing to persuade his Lordship to desist from his attempt, instancing how often the superiority manifested in the serving of the English guns, had been the only cause of ensuring success against the disproportion of men, which the English had ever, in Indian actions, to encounter.

Equally was his Lordship's judgement at variance with every political idea, which men bred in the service,

vice, would, on such an occasion, have manifested.—They would have felt the genius of the men with whom they had to treat. They would not have exercised that ill advised lenity which dictated Lord Cornwallis' requisitions, when the humble offer to negotiate, arose only from the certainty which Tippoo entertained, that both his capital and kingdom were on the verge of destruction. Without adverting to the eternal principles of hatred, which Tippoo had sworn on the Koran against the English, it unfortunately struck his Lordship, an opportunity was afforded, of displaying an heroic magnanimity and forbearance. Instead of reducing the haughty Sultan to the impossibility of ever again proving himself a dangerous foe to our Government, to convert, by such generosity, that Prince's innate and inherent prejudice, and bring him to the duties, hereafter, of a good and faithful ally, intending him, from this conversion, to serve as a bar against the encreasing power of the Mahrattahs and the Nizam's. Such a hope could only have been created, and was consistent alone with European notions, false, and impracticable, with the least promise of success, in regard to Oriental dispositions. The moment that I heard of it at Patna, I, and other civil servants of that station, expressed our sense of its absurdity. We predicted what would be the result. Our minds were satisfied, it would only tend to generate fresh seeds of discontent, and that the active mind of that Prince, would never be at rest, until he had recovered, by renewed exertions, his lopped off territories.

From the instant his pen had signed and ratified the treaty, these exertions were secretly at work, and were brought to operate in full force in 1799; when, by the transcendant genius of a Wellesley, they were rendered abortive, and ended with the loss of his possessions and life.

I well recollect, I applied the mistaken part which his Lordship had acted to that anecdote which I knew, relative to the Czar Peter the Great, and the celebrated Duke of Richelieu. The Czar being at Paris, and a great admirer of the talents for Government which the Duke's great uncle, the Cardinal de Richelieu had shewn, when first Minister of State, paid his Grace the compliment to select him for his companion, when viewing that perfection of architecture, the Cardinal's Mausoleum. In his extacy for the character, he suddenly exclaimed, "Would to God thou "'wer't living; gladly would I give thee one half of my extended empire, to teach me, *like thee*, to "'govern the other half!" Here, the monarch seemed buried in reflection. Not so the Duke. He turned to the gentlemen of his suite, and aptly observed, "Were this division to take place, the "Cardinal would never be at rest, until he had deprived him of the other half."

Lord Cornwallis resigned his Government in September, 1793,—and the pliant Sir John Shore, who, when in Council, as Mr. Shore, had opposed the inversion of property proposed by his Lordship, who had revolted at the new doctrine introduced, of the Zemindar being the proprietor of his land, but, under certain rights and titles, described in the tenure, which, if not observed by the occupant, rendered him amenable to a forfeiture of his occupancy, now unblushingly stood forth, when succeeding to the Government, to put into execution these new fangled maxims, and, on a sudden, completely changing his principles, conferring on these Zemindars the right of hereditary property, subject alone to an annual fixed rent, as unchangeable as inalienable. Here was a prostitution of character, which not one of his brother servants ever thought would have been displayed by the man who, at the head of the Board of Revenue, firmly contended against this innovation, as not only having an impolitic tendency, but, in its principle, actually bearing no ground to justify the hasty conclusion adopted; and who, besides, when he found the arbitrary *Je le veux*, determined

mined upon, endeavoured at least to mitigate the evil consequences, by representing that a settlement in perpetuity could not well be effected, but, under the complete knowledge, of a regular assessment having previously been formed and obtained, which process would necessarily involve a few years consideration and attention, and wisely, therefore, suggested a decennial settlement being enacted, liable to a confirmation *for ever*, where the assessment was fully ascertained to have been judicious, and proportionate, which proof could easily be derived, during that given period, from the payment of the rents being easily made, and without any deduction being required.

Thus, were new rights established for a description of persons, who never dreamt they should enjoy such, much less, would ever have thought to have claimed them. It suited the Author of this nefarious system, to persuade his Lordship, that its adoption would render his name immortal; It enabled him to serve those *tried friends* in his district, who had so eminently contributed to the raising of the immense fortune which he carried out of the country with him. No matter what ensued. The personal ends were answered. The public ones were sacrificed. The Sovereign lost for ever that right which had been vested in him from time immemorial, viz. being Lord of the Soil, and allowing to the occupant the right of possession, from generation to generation, on occasional renewals of tenure, where *no cause of forfeiture* existed.

The reader will here clearly discern, that this created a separation from that dependency to the state, so essential to be preserved in Eastern States. It effectually deprived the Sovereign of the pleasing power of remitting to his tenant, oppressed in his stipulated payments, by the unexpected misfortune arisen to him from the rigor of the Elements. It debarred him equally from a prospect of encrease of rent to the state, by stimulating honest industry, in a distribution of suitable pecuniary advances, tending to promote cultivation. These were ties of long standing, and which had uniformly obtained. They were every year scrupulously adhered to in that ceremony of the *Poonah*, where the subject met the representative of his Lord with due obedience, and in the constant hope of a remission to his fixed rent, in alleviation of real known loss incurred, or receiving from Government a certain advance "*Tuccavy*," reimbursable in fixed proportions, and stated periods, where the intention was manifested of bringing lands into product, which had either long lain fallow, or such arable ones, as were deemed fit for tillage.

Further, to exemplify how averse they were to such a change, in no instance did they consider a greater grievance having befallen them. They contemplated, with a melancholy reflection, their consequence, as Zemindars, entirely done away, by rendering their occupancies, which for generations had regularly descended to them from their ancestors, liable to be transferred to others, by a sale of a part of the whole, for arrears of a rent, hardly, incorrectly, and ignorantly imposed, with the exception of those, who received their new possessions on favored reduced assessments. Distraint by confinement, even stripes, where arrears existed, was deemed preferable by them. It had obtained for ages, and custom, in endeavouring to impose on the Landlord, by making the best terms for the farm, or procuring from his indulgence unseasonable remissions, had sanctioned such endeavors with no disgrace. Whereas, the lopping off a branch of their Zemindarry, was cruelly felt by them, and engendered an inherent discontent, which no future compensation could remove; and to cause it to operate with greater disgust, this clause was newly introduced, and inserted in their cabooleats (agreements) which they were compelled to sign, with every hazard of distress, or

to see themselves ejected, from these lands, the superintendance and management of which had for ages devolved to their trust,

In my work, written at the desire of a friend, not published for sale, but distributed to friends, and subsequently to every gentleman in the direction, entitled, "Answer to Mr. Law's rising resources," will be seen my decided opinion of its fallacy and impolicy. The former could not be doubted by those versed in the nature of India customs, laws, and revenue; the latter has been evinced by the evil consequences which have followed.*

I will make allowances for the man, who, having the first station within his reach offered him, can sacrifice to obtain that end any doubtful or erroneous opinions, which he might till then have entertained; but for one, bred up in the service, and to whom every one looked up for information, not only in the revenue line, where he had long conspicuously shone as the oracle, but, likewise, in every point which comprized the laws and ancient usages of India, to at once sacrifice at the shrine of office, every idea and knowledge, which had rendered his communication, an object essential for reference, is such a dereliction of all manly steadiness, as cannot too sufficiently be exposed. I shall abstain from further remark on this point, and only proceed to exhibit the want of energy, arising alone, from indolence and supineness, which pervaded his Government during a period of five years.

I shall only illustrate to this effect, the following points; the first, Sir John Shore suffering calmly the Nizam to be attacked and overwhelmed by the Mahrattahs, contrary to the faith of the guarantee treaty between *the three contracting* powers, in the treaty of Seringapatnam, viz. the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattahs.

The consequence of this (call it by the most moderate term, an impolitic oversight), was, the two English battalions, which were stationed with the Nizam, being ignominously dismissed from his service, and which act, conduced to raising the French force under Monsieur Raymond to that formidable and imminent state, which in a short time after, it acquired; and which said force would effectually have been turned against the English, assisted with the whole power of the Nizam, and dictated by his just resentment, after the convention of Kurdlah with the Mahrattahs, had not, most opportunely, the death of the Peshwah Mehadoorow, and the rebellion of the Nizam's son Aly Jah, occurred, to divert him from his meditated revenge: even, when the Nizam feeling his imprudence, in trusting his Kingdom to such means of defence, offered *to dismiss the French corps*, provided the English force, which he required to be stationary in his dominions, was encreased, Sir John hesitated, and gave up the proffered alliance, thinking, as his weakness led him to express, such an acquiescence might give umbrage to the Mahrattahs;—and thus was so favorable an opportunity lost, both in reducing the expence of the Company's Madras army, and

* The Reverend Doctor Buchanan, in his statistical survey of the province of Dinagepore, says, "It is evident from the "*Ayen Acbarry*, there were *no hereditary proprietors* of land. The Natives allege *the office* of Zemindar has always, *under* "*certain conditions*, been hereditary. They then *accounted to Government*, for their receipts;—and they now declare, *they* "*have been injured by the new settlement*."—Vide, likewise, James Grant's opinion and Wilk's on the same subject, so ably detailed in their celebrated publications.—"Even" saith Wilks, to mark his strong disapprobation of the innovation, "after "that period, when the pestilent doctrine of the Sovereign being the *actual*, instead of the *figurative*, proprietor of the soil, "began to be promulgated by the British Government."

And again, comparing what obtains in the Deccan with Bengal, "The terms *Meeras* and *Meerassdar* have since been con- "tinued under the British administration, but for the purpose of assimilating every thing to the system of Bengal, where a pro- "prietor, *unknown to the History of India*, had for some years been created, under the modern name of Zemindar; these "*exponents of absolute dominion in landed property*, were declared to possess merely the hereditary right of cultivation."

and securing, by an efficient strength, viz. six battalions of Sepoys, with a proportion of artillery, which the Nizam demanded, the certain alliance of this Prince.

The same supineness was manifested by Sir John, with regard to the corps which had been raised by De Boigne, and was afterwards commanded by General Perron. This corps was kept so independent of the Prince Mehadajee Scindiah's authority, that not a doubt existed, even had Scindiah's own inclination not led to it, but that it would, in the event of the French having landed, have forced this Prince to have taken a decided part against the English Government.

The third may be reckoned in the neglect shewn to court Mahadajee Scindiah's alliance. With the political observers of those days, it became a point of general conversation and astonishment!—It was well known that the uncle, and subsequently the nephew Dhowlah Row Scindiah, had manifested a desire of entering into a treaty offensive and defensive; in one instance, when he marched to Poonah, to support the Peshwah Badjeerow, in another instance, when he apprehended a meditated attack of his territorial possessions in Hindostan by Zemaun Shah. In an acquiescence of either of these propositions, the French party would never have risen to that preponderance, as to have caused an imminent danger, when joined, with those whom it was intended they should act, to the British Government.

Finally, what can be said in the omission of selecting a successor to Hyder Beg Khan when his death was announced, and who had been the Minister in whom the government implicity trusted for the good management of the Nawab Vizier's affairs?—And, in his place, allowing to be introduced, men whom he knew, nay avowed the knowledge, of being in their dispositions hostile to the state?—In this same spirit, did he admit of Vizier Aly succeeding to Aseph ul Dhowlah, however, in his elaborate minute, drawn up with the utmost Sophistry, he declares his sense of the former's notorious spurious birth, and this, notwithstanding, Saadut Aly, the real and undoubted *heir, after the death* of his elder brother to their father Shujah ul Dhowlah's dominions, had, in order to secure his inheritance, invoked British faith, and appealed to the Justice of the Administration.

What was the result of these injudicious measures? No other, than what almost every man, foreseeing their impolitic tendency, had decried; Sir John was obliged to repair in person to Lucknow, with the known view of deposing the creature, whom he had, I may say, ephemerally raised, and the same wretch, when giving a feast to his Benefactor, whose lenity he was imploring, meditated the same treachery and revenge against the English, which he, afterwards, too unhappily effected in the person of the much regretted and accomplished Mr. Cherry the Resident, when his horrid massacre took place, at Benares, the city allotted for this traitor to reside in, after his forced abdication, on a munificent pension, far exceeding his deserts. Fortunately, for the safety of Sir John's person, and those gentlemen who composed his retinue, the late Major General Macgowan, who commanded the troops appointed to escort and protect the Governor General, suspecting an act of this kind was hatching, directed the grenadiers of the body guard, which served as orderlies, to mingle with the servants who were attendants behind the gentlemens chairs, and thus overawe the intent. In the end it was well ascertained, nothing, but this order could have contributed to their safety; Vizier Aly having harbored the villainous design of having them all stabbed by

confidential dependents, on his giving the signal, by plunging his own dagger into Sir John's body.

Sir John Shore gave charge over of his Government in 1798, and Lord Wellesley arrived in May that same year, to assume that station, which, in the wisdom of the Legislature, had been, but just in time, conferred on this conspicuous Nobleman. Discovering at once the faults which his predecessor had committed, he sought to remedy them, by a spirit and energy, which would impress on the Natives, the administration was a far different one to that which, from the abdication of Hastings, they had been accustomed to behold. In the short space of one year he had caused the corps under Monsieur Raymond to be disbanded, and the British influence re-established at the Nizam's Court, and this without bloodshed.—Above two hundred French officers, who had hoisted the tri-colored flag, and dictated laws in that Prince's Capital, whose bread they eat, and would, with above fourteen thousand troops well appointed, have joined Bonaparte, had he made good his landing on the Malabar Coast, from Egypt, were constituted prisoners of war, and lost those situations, which the apathy of Sir John Shore, by not attempting to disturb them, had occasioned them to consider themselves firmly seated in. Equally did his Lordship transport himself to Madras, and bringing the whole weight of Government with him, employed it immediately, and effectually, in completing, by the operations of one campaign, the inveterate enemy to the British, Tippoo Sultan's destruction.

Lord Clive was graced with the appellation of the "Heaven born General." Well might Lord Wellesley have equally hac the title of the "Heaven born Legislator," bestowed on him.—The vigor of mind, which early shone forth in his administration, was the theme of general praise in every one's mouth.—Even those who had flattered themselves with the hope of acting as Mentors to his Lordship, Messrs. Speke and Cowper, both *then* in the Supreme Council, stood petrified with the fund of knowledge and wisdom displayed. The latter more arrogant and presuming than the other, and confiding so strongly in the indispensable necessity of the Governor having always in his ear such a flapper, met with a severe rebuff in his attempt, which caused him to desist for the future. It happened on a day when Lord Wellesley, being particularly occupied, chose to be closetted with his own mind, and had directed his servants not to permit any person having access to him.—This order, Mr. Cowper, who called, unfortunately, at that juncture, could not interpret into a denial of one of his Lordship's *Privy* Counsellors, and men joined with him as Members of his Government.—He chose to consider himself, and his co-adjutor Speke, as exceptions, and pressing this point on his Lordship's Chubdar, (Usher) prevailed on him to announce to His Excellency, that Counsellor Cowper was in waiting, and desirous of speaking with him.—Lord Wellesley, with that coolness of conduct and prompt decision which marked every action of his, returned his compliments, informing Mr. Cowper, when he should wish to see him in Council, that he would receive from the Secretary of Government a regular summons, and when at the Government house, viz. his Lordship's own Palace, he should, by a special card, express his request to this effect. Such was the Chubdar's consternation, who had been in the same office with Lord Wellesley's predecessor, and accustomed to contemplate the Governor and Council in that reign, as the Trinity in unity, that he could scarcely utter out the message he was charged with. Even the Sepoy centinel, who had, from the Chubdar's authority, permitted Mr. Cowper to ascend the great staircase, and enter the antichamber to the audience room, described by his looks, his amazement at the result. In that pointed manner did every hope cease of having a Governor in leading strings, concluding him, as they did, completely divested of every local knowledge.

These

These gentlemen, who had fed their vanity, with the promise of playing the part of rulers, founding their expectation, from the latter circumstance, viz. *a non-residence in India*, were happy enough, afterwards, to be considered as rays emanating from the same splendid beam, and thus, by the indulgence of opinion, admitted, in some measure, to be thought partakers of his radiance and glory.

It is no new observation, but one derived from long experience, that the incidents of fortune often arise from the most unexpected circumstances, and the luck, I may say, of the moment. In no instance could this remark have been more illustrated than regarding Mr. Speke, of whom I have spoken, and myself.—Mr. Edward Payne, the Bank Director, who has been mentioned in the preceding part, was our friend and protector. Under his patronage, and from his personal solicitation and interest, we owed our appointments of Writers in the Company's service, and the said friend had neglected no opportunity of assisting our views, by constant recommendations to those in India, whose situations afforded them the power of obliging their friend, by attending to his wishes. The said person, when in 1789 the question of nominating a Regency was at issue, and every adherent to Mr. Pitt dreaded his being forced out of the administration, had an opportunity of shewing his, and the sense of the commercial interest in London, for the great services rendered to them by the Minister. The disinterestedness of Mr. Pitt was so well known, as to have created a fear, he might be thrown into serious pecuniary difficulties, by the change of party to guide the reins of Government; and apprehending this might work, prejudicially to the Nation, on his proud spirit, the respectable mercantile body of the city determined, he should, at least, go into opposition, independent of monied embarrassments.—For this purpose a Committee was assembled, and the election to the chair fell on Mr. Payne, who waited on Mr. Pitt, with the request he would accept from his friends the sum of fifty thousand Pounds which had been subscribed. The Minister rejected this munificence, but forgot not his gratitude to the donors. The sequel is well known. By the uncommon address of Mr. Pitt, the firmness of his supporters, with the imprudent discussion of *Right*, brought on by Mr. Fox, to the exercise of the Kingly authority, *inherently devolving* to the Heir apparent, *subject to no provision* from the Legislature, in the event of the Sovereign's incapacity, the question was so spun out, as to have caused the necessity, which had existed, becoming superseded from the Monarch's recovery.

In the subsequent year, the resignation of Sir John Macpherson, as one of the Supreme Council of Bengal, had occurred. Admiral Affleck, one of the sea companions in glory with Mr. Speke's father, Captain Speke,* the Captain of the flag ship of Admiral Watson, at the taking of Chandernagore, and equally distinguished before in Hawke's memorable engagement against Conflans, immediately thought this vacation created a hope of serving the son of their old friend. Knowing the kind disposition of Mr. Payne, with whom a good act was always a gratification, he posted to town, and suggested to him the application. This gentleman, without reflecting that the relation to his family, *and to whose interests he had ever bestowed a preference*, was equally eligible to the situation, solicited for Mr. Speke, and obtained readily the Minister's consent. By such a caprice of fortune was I ejected, from acting in that sphere, to which, if I had been appointed, I can safely declare, I should have been more tenacious of my brother servants *covenanted rights*, than what Mr. Speke evinced to have been, particularly in my case; I reproached him with his suffering those rights to have been violated, when sitting at the same Council Board with Lord Cornwallis.—He could not but acquiesce, that he might have urged them, and resisted the measure of my recall, by a protest to this effect, had his Lordship chosen to persist, in defiance of the objection raised, and which was founded on so solid a ground. Nevertheless, he alleged his conviction of having acted

* Vide Ives' Voyage, and Lord Kaime's Essays, for a character of this respectable officer.

acted, to the best of his judgement, for his friend. In his opinion, it was prudent to allow of the torrent gushing out its foam, and when its force was expended, to bring it to flow more mildly, and consistent with reason.—I could not approve.—The mischief had been done.—It was irreparable. All that remained, was to regret the effect of Speke's *distempered* sensibility. I would have called him my misled friend, had not his acts of friendship been so much at variance with prudence and justice.

Mr. Charles Purling, an old Bengal civil servant, who happened, at this juncture, to be in England, had laid in his claim for the succession, and been actually the favored candidate, until Mr. Payne's intercession, in behalf of Mr. Speke, distanced with the Minister all other Competitors.—Mr. Payne returned from Downing street, to Leadenhall, with Mr. Pitt's authorisation to signify to the Chairman and Deputy, Mr. Speke had his best wishes for the nomination. The friends of Mr. Purling then endeavoured to persuade Mr. Payne, he was doing an act of disservice to Mr. Speke, since this gentleman, possessing at that moment the joint appointment of Collector of Radeshy and Resident at the Durbar, would not willingly resign them for an office of less emolument. Mr. Payne did not chime in with such doctrine. He naturally conceived, it would be more flattering for his friend to attain the summit to which his ambition could have looked to reach, rather than have continued in a subordinate office, however more beneficial. In his letter to Speke, announcing the joyful tidings, was this motive detailed, and in the honesty of his worthy heart, he ended by apologizing, *If he had done wrong!* viz. in contributing essentially, nay, being the sole cause of an appointment of Government, with a Salary, receivable in Europe, of ten thousand Pounds Sterling per annum, conferred on his friend.

I was too much indebted to Mr. Payne's good offices: I respected too much his character, to permit myself, in my next letter to him, any phrase which might be construed into upbraiding him, with having preferred one, estranged from his family, to another so nearly related. I, merely, observed, (after congratulating him on the weight, which this event had displayed so conspicuously, he possessed with the Minister, and which could not be owing, but to the brilliant reputation in which his services stood, when Governor of the Bank in two successive years, viz. 1771 and 1772, the period in which the alarming failures of Sir George Colebrooke, and Fordyce's Houses occurred), that I hoped he would recollect me, should a similar occasion present itself, having equal claim, being that of above twelve years actual residence in the civil service in India, and besides, having my years of military service to plead. The answer which I received was, that he had not adverted at the moment, to the spirit of the Act of Parliament, regarding those who could be claimants for such distinctions, and, in fact, he had considered the selection of one, was similar to both being nominated, since he judged, we would, reciprocally, be entitled to each other's good offices, knowing, as he did, our mutual esteem and attachment. I am sorry to state, these sentiments were obliterated, and ended completely on the part of Mr. Speke, when his unexpected transition elevated him to so superior a sphere.

I have already mentioned, that from Sir John Shore's determination not to restore an old servant, cruelly used by his predecessor, I was compelled, before Lord Wellesley's arrival, to address a Memorial to the Court of Directors, and having forwarded it, to repair in person for its support.

And, here, from the consequences to which I fell a devoted victim, have I most sincerely to regret, that I did not await the effect of his noble successor's truely liberal disposition. In the preceding administrations,

tions, others of my brother servants had been, from various causes, *suspended from office*, and left on the shelf *without a trial*. His Lordship adverting to the situation of a covenanted servant, precluded from every hope of advancement to independence, but by actual employment, summoned these gentlemen to attend him.

In a discourse truely marking his great mind, he told them, he should not go into any enquiry; that, probably, the punishment they had endured, had met with a just requital, for the errors which they had committed; that, however, he approved of strong discountenance, for any deviation of good conduct, yet, he could not give his sanction to a system, which, in his enlightened conception, bordered on persecution, and therefore, they might hope of being re-employed, with every trust from Government, that, what had past, would cause them to be more cautious for the future.

I, accordingly, embarked on board of a vessel, carrying neutral colours, in February 1799. She belonged to Hamburgh, and had been purchased by her owners, from having before served as a French frigate. The Captain gave out that her sailing was superior, and that he was wooded, watered, and provisioned for four months, the time which he calculated, she would, from the Bengal River, without touching at any intermediate port, reach the English channel, where, he engaged to disembark any passengers which might make their election of going with him. Such an offer and promise was too flattering to my views, not to avail myself of it. I feared a delay at St. Helena for convoy, and I deemed it an object of being on the spot, to urge the purport of my memorial, so soon, as possibly, the voyage could be accomplished. We soon, therefore, came to terms, and on the 4th of February, I went on board, my fellow passengers were Captain Williamson, of the Bengal infantry, with Lieutenant Richardson of the same corps, and Lieutenant Raban of the artillery. We had, likewise, a Mahomedan of distinction, Mirza Aboo Taleb Khan. Our Captain had pledged his word to be on board to receive us, instead of which, he loitered some days in Calcutta, and brought to us in Saugur roads, the *joyful tiding*, that an embargo on the shipping had been directed by Government, from the La Forte, a French frigate, being known to cruize in Balasore Roads.

It may be judged how welcome his reception was by us;—the *sang froid* of the animal made him indifferent to our reproaches. Many a sigh did anxiety vent, whilst this delay existed. In the beginning of March, we heard a tremendous firing, and two days afterwards, we saw the ship, which had caused our detention, towed as a wreck up the river by the gallant Cooke, who lost the honors which his victory had commanded, by a glorious death, from the wounds which had assailed him in his desperate encounter. On the 12th, the embargo was levied, and on the 13th, we sailed in company with other vessels, and our regret was, in some measure, appeased, from the superiority of sailing, which our vessel very soon evinced, she was capable of doing, having outstripped in her race, the rest of the fleet.

Scarcely, however, had our good humor returned, than we had full reason again to mourn. The Captain declared, he must water at the Nicobar Islands. This detained us full eight days, and having supplied ourselves with water and fruit, we pursued our journey. But, alas, with unavailing hope for a speedy relief. We had missed the season, for a summer passage round the Cape of Good Hope, and it was not to be regained. The consequence, which arose from our procrastination was, our being baffled by contrary winds for twenty six days, after we had seen Point Natal, encountering contending gales, and after being exposed to every danger which a ship in raging

tempestuous seas could incur, the vessel, likewise, having been struck with lightning, it pleased the Divine Providence to bring us in miraculously into False Bay, where we anchored on the 19th of June.

In such a conflict of distress, anxiety, and disappointment, my fellow passengers got weary, and sick. I was the only one who could keep the deck, and at three in the morning of that propitious day, I announced to each the cheerful intelligence of their unexpected preservation, and deliverance, from such a ship, crew, and Captain.

Never did I come on shore, with a heart more grateful to Providence. My friends had lost all hope, and appeared resigned. I confess mine was not very sanguine. Still, I trusted. But, when, after having rounded the Cape, accidentally driven by the currents, and prosecuting our voyage to St. Helena, with a fair wind, and with a confidence of there being on board *eighteen* buts of water, the Captain, even without any question of that nature put to him, having, the preceding day, voluntarily declared possessing that quantity, I saw the Table land sixty miles on our stern, and with the finest breeze, the ship at once changing her course, and proceeding to that land, from the chief officer having acknowledged the truth of only *two* butts remaining, I freely avow my thoughts were gloomy. The dread of a want of water bore heavy on my mind, far more than the dangers we had experienced. As we approached Table Bay, I entreated, in my behalf, and my fellow passengers, the Captain to put us on shore, with one trunk of linen for each person, pledging our words, we would for this condescension, cry quit with him, and absolve him from every other consequence. No, No, was the brute's constant answer. Providence, as I have said, interposed for us, and against every probability which existed at seven in the morning of the 18th June, brought us the next morning at three to anchor in False Bay.

We landed as early as daylight permitted, and before evening, housed as we were, we had full opportunity to contemplate and appreciate the value of a fine day, in this latitude, and in the midst of winter; for there came on a storm of rain, hail, thunder, &c. which, lasting for three days, confined us to the house we inhabited, and in which we uttered many a thanksgiving for having escaped the effect of this severe gale at sea.—So soon as it had subsided, and we had got part of our baggage on land, we set off for Cape Town, and amidst a pleasing society of which the Garrison was composed, soon buried in oblivion the hardships we had suffered.

It may well be supposed, not one of us ever thought of confiding ourselves with such a Captain again. We informed him thereof; and however the flagrant breach of his engagement, we wished not to distress the man, but told him plainly, we should expect half of our passage money to be refunded, not entertaining the most distant idea of continuing our voyage with him. This offer of an amicable settlement he peremptorily refused. The consequence was, we sued him in the Court of Justice, and he was equitably condemned to repay one half of the sum which he had received, besides incurring his own costs, with the law charges, which we had likewise been debited with.

During my sojournment here, I met in one of the Magazines, the death of my cousin Mr. Réné Payne, the only friend of any weight which I had in England, and on whose kindness and attachment to me, independent of his strong feelings against oppression, I depended much for the pursuits of my object. His loss startled me for the issue. I knew who I attacked, and with whom I had to contend. I was aware also,

also, that demands of arrears, justly due, would not meet with a ready ear. Still, hoping for justice, I determined to proceed to England.

No immediate opportunity occurring for a passage to England, and apprehending to meet the winter, after a continued residence of three and twenty years in the warm climate of Bengal, I prolonged my stay at the Cape. In January, 1800, after having in vain awaited for a returned home Indiaman, I agreed with Captain Robertson of the merchant brig Regulus for my accommodation, and we sailed on the 14th.—The other gentlemen with me were, Captain Granger and Lieutenant Tucker of the Royal Navy, and Captain Charles Morgan of the 8th Dragoons.—Besides these, there was an African born, a Mr. Vermaak, who was banished the Colony, for having, in an intercepted letter, expressed a wish to his Correspondent in Holland, that the same revolutionary principles which had taken place in that country, should soon spread their influence in his native soil. This was considered so Jacobinical an act, as to merit the reprobation of Government, and he was, accordingly, embarked on board of this vessel, as a prisoner of state.

I had never seen him, till we met afloat, and having been recommended to my attention and compassion by two families, who had, during my sojournment in Cape Town, bestowed their civilities on me, I was prepared to mitigate the rigor of his situation, by every kindness in my power.—His appearance was not prepossessing. It did not however inspire an idea of his being capable to hatch treason. I listened to his tale, read such papers as he brought forth in palliation, and felt disposed from their perusal, and his relation, to attribute his error, more to absurdity and imprudence, than an intentional criminal act. In the state of the Colony, filled with many a restless being, it was proper in Government to check, in the first instance, this spirit which was breaking forth, and might have weakened its authority.—When we arrived at St. Helena, the Governor, my old respectable Bengal friend, Colonel Brooke, allowed him, from my mediation, to come on shore and live quietly, and, without wandering over the island, in a house, and under a charge appointed to this trust.—This, I thought, was a sufficient indulgence. In the course of the journey from the Cape to the Island, and from thence to England, I had remarked, when he came on deck, a seeming uneasiness prevail. His eyes looked wildly around every direction. He then saluted me, and with a grateful sigh exclaimed, " No ship in sight."—I could not but think this constant exclamation bore some particular meaning. I questioned him, and, after several fruitless attempts, at length extorted from him, that his sigh proceeded from a relief of fear, and which fear was founded on the certainty which he had entertained, and which the opinion of his Jacobin companions in Cape Town had caused him to imbibe, viz. that the Captain had *secret* instructions, to throw him over board, in the event of his vessel being chased at sea. I can assure my readers, it was some time, before I could persuade him, no English Government would ever have issued such an order, nor would any English Commander have obeyed one to this purport.

Until within a degree and a half of the Western Islands, we enjoyed at sea the pleasantest weather imaginable; but on the 12th of March, we encountered the Equinoctial gale. The sun burst that morning from the horizon with a most fiery aspect, surrounded by red clouds, reflecting the brightest splendor.—I observed its beauty; the Captain said it portended wind, and my friend Morgan, who was walking the deck with me, expressed his hope it would be a gale, having never been in one, and wishing to see how our little bark would be tossed about. A look of indignation was bestowed on him from our Commander, and before evening, his desire was amply gratified, for the vessel was obliged to be lain to, the hatches battened,

battened, and every preparation made to meet the disasters of the night. It blew with the utmost fury, the sea broke repeatedly over, shivered our bow-prit in pieces, and carried away our foretop mast, throwing the brig on her beam ends, and exposing us to the most imminent danger, until the chief mate, a daring seaman and excellent navigator, relieved us from our immediate fears, by having a cord thrown around his waist, and, springing over board, cleared the wreck from the rigging. About noon on the 13th, the tempest not decreasing, and the vessel laboring much, the Captain came down to the great cabin, expressing his intent to rid himself of his guns, as he thought it would ease her considerably; but, at the same time, noticed, if it pleased God to save us, he knew not how he should answer such a measure to his owners, unless he had a certificate denoting its necessity. His Majesty's naval officers having remained on deck, I took upon myself to be the spokesman. "Go, Sir," said I, "cast every gun into the sea, "and be assured of our signature to any paper which it may please you to draw out, for the purpose you "have requested it in the event of our surviving."—Accordingly, five minutes after, we had the pleasure of hearing them pop over the sides, and the effect, from the adoption of this measure, fully answered.

In the evening the gale came on with redoubled rage; the horrors of that night, I can scarcely describe; the men fatigued; the boat washed over board; every thing swept clean off the deck; one of the dead lights in the cabin stove in; all foreboded our speedy end.—It pleased the Almighty however to preserve us.—Oppressed with want of rest, I had sunk into a gentle dose, when the Captain by seven, on the morning of the 14th, agreeably disturbed me, by informing me the gale had subsided, and, if I would come upon deck, I could convince myself, by seeing a clear horizon driving before it the heavy clouds which had assailed us.—In fact, it was worth remarking. The black tremendous clouds ascending, with a bright sky beneath them, looked precisely, and might justly be compared, to light dispelling darkness.

At noon on that day we had an observation, which taught us, that we had driven a degree and a half to the Southward, and consequently, had we been in a latitude parallel to those Islands, viz. in 39 degrees, instead of being in 37½ when the gale commenced, we must inevitably have been wrecked and perished on them.—Fortunately, we had sea room enough for our bark, exposed as she was to the mercies of the seas, to float in the direction we drifted.

The Captain's first care was to repair the damage done, so well as he was able, and the next was to gain the first port.—We steered therefore for Lisbon, destitute of every fresh provision, and the salt beef and rice, even impregnated with salt water.

On the morning of the second day, and within one degree of our destined port, we fell in with the Lisbon and Oporto fleet, convoyed by the Bellerophon, Captain Darby, whose ship, by the number of shot-holes imprinted on her, bore evident marks of the gallantry which the brave Captain and his crew had displayed in the recent battle of the Nile. He stopped to speak us, and learning that Captain Granger had dispatches for the Admiralty Board from Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, the Admiral who commanded the naval station at the Cape of Good Hope, and Lieutenant Tucker, from Sir George Yonge the Governor, he took them on board; but, however I mentioned having likewise dispatches from the Company's Agent at the Cape of Good Hope, I could not get his ear to listen to my request of being transported to his ship; neither was my friend Captain Morgan more fortunate.—Captain Darby was of that species of seamen, who consider military men as land-sharks, and deprecated any defence of Old England, than by her wooden batteries.—He appealed to the condition in which the ship appeared, with the pumps continually going,

going, to excuse his parting with either mast, spar, or rigging of any kind, but told us to keep in his wake, and if he saw a necessity of doing it, he would veer out a cable, and take the vessel in tow.

This was sad discouragement to men who had lived well to the moment of the recent disaster we had met with; the Captain gave up all idea of steering for Lisbon, and subscribed to joining the convoy under the conditions prescribed. Our only relief consisted in a few oranges, Port wine, and Portugal plums, which, at an immoderate price, we got out of one of the Leith traders, and this, with our damaged stores, was to serve us, until we were fortunate enough, to reach an English harbor.

Luckily, for our comfort, the Commander observed, that notwithstanding the damaged state of the vessel, we could yet sail in one day, what the fleet, under convoy, would be performing in two.—This was improved on by the Mate the next evening, for during his watch, we contrived to separate;—and, however, the Captain felt angry with the neglect, yet he yielded at last to persuasion, viz. that it was better to make the best of our way to England, than remain longer in so destitute a situation.

Nevertheless, we had nearly suffered, for quitting the man of war's protection. Entering the English channel, we espied early in the morning a suspicious vessel on our larboard beam, and as we continued our course, we evidently saw, she was bearing down upon our vessel, with an apparent intention of intercepting our progress. We were to windward, and the Captain, bearing up two points, threw her at a greater distance. She persisted in her course with a press of sail, and succeeded, so far, as to bring up within musket shot of our stern, raking us with two vollies of balls which happily had no effect. This she did in a truely piratical way, for she fired without hoisting any colors. We perceived her deck full of men, and having failed in her object, she put about, and crowded every sail she could hoist, having discerned, sooner, than we did, an English frigate in chase of her. This proved to be the Flora, Sir Thomas Williams, who, in about half an hour afterwards, hailed us, and receiving an answer in the negative to his enquiry, "whether it was requisite for him to send a prize master on board?" which question was made in the supposition that we had, bereft as he saw us of guns, and any means of defence, struck our colors to the privateer, pursued with ardor his design to cut her off, before she could reach any port on the French coast, crying out, he knew her, having been fitted out at Boulogne, and had committed many depredations in the Channel. We heard, with much satisfaction, subsequently, that his aim had been accomplished; but though the fellow, who headed her operations, ought to have met his death on the yard arm, yet him and his comrades, when once prisoners, met with that generous treatment, inseparable from English seamen.

We ran that night up Channel with a very favorable breeze, and about noon next day, having weathered with difficulty Beachy Head, the fog having entangled us in the bay which the opposite points form, Morgan and I threw ourselves into the first Deal cutter we fell in with, the master of which bargained to set us on shore at Dover, for the small sum of eighteen guineas. Accordingly, at three in the morning of the 31st March, we found, we were in Dover Harbor, after having spent a most tempestuous and rainy night, without any rest, at one moment threatened with our small boat going on shore, at another with being made prisoners, from a French lugger which had discerned us, and *was said* to be fast approaching. It did not require much penetration to conclude, all these different reports, were occasionally conveyed into the cabin, for the purpose of extorting

more money, from the Indian passengers, which they thought, they had, at mercy, in their net.—Morgan more irritable than I was, and indignant in reflecting the sum we had already been taxed at, put an end to such further tidings, by giving them *an English blessing*, accompanied with the remark, it was perfectly indifferent to us, whether stranded or becoming prisoners, so that we were rid of their clutches.

This intemperate conduct was soon revenged, for, we were told, that we could not land from the open boat in which we sat, until the Collector would give his orders respecting us and servants, the cutter having anchored a small distance from shore, and another guinea from each demanded, for the conveyance afforded. Thus were we, in one of the coldest wet nights which could be experienced, seated from three till seven, most completely soused, and the reason given for it was, that it required a passport from the Alien office, before foreign servants could be admitted to land.

In this inhospitable place, we staid no longer than to refresh ourselves, and posted to London; when I delivered my dispatches at the India House, and proceeded to Fladong's Hotel in Oxford street, where good fare, good warming, and good accommodations, concurred to obliterate all recollection of my past miseries.

I had now partly attained the point for which I quitted India fourteen months before. I was in London, where centered those to whose justice I had appealed, for a redress of the wrongs which I had so long been afflicted with. I felt light, anticipating the end of my troubles. The reader will sympathise with me in viewing the disappointment of my just expectations.

I waited on the Chairman, and each of the Direction, respectively, after I had been made acquainted, that my memorial transmitted officially from Bengal, had not till then been taken into consideration. I asked the Secretary, why and wherefore such delay had arisen?—His answer was brief, "*a pressure of other business more important.*" I could not acquiesce in such a reason, and to refresh the memory of my Judges, and at once to bring the point before them in the most concise manner, so as to ensure their judgment, not wandering from what was submitted to their decision, I drew up the recital of my claims,* and which was founded on the basis of the memorial above alluded to, and thus left them to exercise their award fairly, on the statement of each demand, for the breach of which, I solicited remuneration.

My old friends, who were in the Direction, the companions of my early days, left their visiting cards in return, and were anxious in shewing me personal attention. Would to God the examination and sequel had rested with them! Unfortunately, it did not. The late Mr. David Scott, who, from the most menial situation in life, had risen by accident in Bombay into wealth and power, and who, from such qualifications, ought never to have been entitled to a seat in the Direction, ignorant, absolutely, of covenanted rights, or, of any privileges which the civil servants exclusively enjoyed, had, by the chance of fate, been placed in the deputy chair, and, devoted to his patron the late Lord Melville, ruled with an absolute sway in Leaden Hall.—With such a pliant and servile mind, any animadversion on the administration of a Nobleman of such high rank, as the person who I complained against, was vested with, could be no otherwise considered than tantamount to a criminal act; and, correspondent to these sentiments, instead of fair investigation and subsequent judgement

* Vide Appendix J.

judgement being resolved upon, the individual stood prejudged, guilt was concluded, and punishment denounced.

On the 5th of April, 1801, this fatal measure took place.—It was in vain I implored a suspension of this arbitrary deed, until specific charges were adduced and replied to. Equally, did a deaf ear obtain to the covenanted rights which I alleged and pleaded in my behalf, being highly violated by so unprecedented and illegal a resolution. It mattered not.—In the secret Committee it had been carried by Scott's influence.—Lord Cornwallis was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, His Majesty's Representative for that Kingdom; and who was the reptile daring enough to arraign the justice of so great a character?

In short, power and wealth were in one scale, poverty and insignificance in the other; the latter could not be considered of weight, with men impregnated with despotic maxims, peculiar to Eastern Sovereignty, where the Monarch, or his Satellites, continually adjudge the balance in favor of the richest.—The man of distinction alone, with them, commands attention; whilst the poor one, destitute of friends, and means, to influence judgement, must ever be in the wrong. Sorry, am I to say, that these unworthy motives had polluted and pervaded the walls of Leaden Hall, and which actuated those, to whose impartial justice I had appealed, in the decree which they pronounced.

I may be thought too severe, but I am not so without cause and proof.—Let the English reader, particularly view with reflection, what befell me, and his mind will revolt against such a proceeding.—I challenge those who exist, to disprove, weaken, or set aside the strength of my assertions.—They are grounded; and I feel, at this moment, in my position, an indispensable necessity to have recourse to them, in vindication of my fair fame.

I aver, that I stood condemned, without the opportunity, in any shape, having been afforded me, either of *answering, explaining, or even seeing*.—Not even did the measure carry with it the palliative of the "*Summum jus, summa injuria.*" Its feature was singular.

I was oppressed, without an intention *ever existing* of even excusing such conduct, by adducing any proof in its support; and to sum up the climax, to form the acme, I may justly say, by methods equally irresistible by guilt or innocence.

Lord Chancellor Cowper says,—"The wisdom and goodness of our Law appears in nothing more remarkable, than in the perspicuity, certainty, and clearness of the evidence, which it requires to fix a crime, in which the life, liberty, or property of a man, is concerned: herein, we glory and pride ourselves, and are, justly, the envy of all our neighbours. Our Laws, in such cases, require evidence so clear, that every bystander who hears it, must be instantly satisfied for its truth. It admits of no forced constructions, or of any thing, but what is according to the principles of natural justice."

This quotation, so applicable, calls for my remark. England, renowned for the wisdom of her Laws, and for the humane policy of its Criminal Code, the first and ruling principles of which are, that no person shall be held guilty, *till convicted by regular trial*; on the contrary, every person is held and presumed innocent, until the Law, and its operation, *formally* applied, pronounce him guilty.

In my case, the security of three thousand Pounds given for me, by my relations and best friends, Edward and René Payne, Esquires, of London, warranted me as *a covenanted servant*, against such oppressive conduct. Yet, it took place, however the Act of Parliament prescribed the terms to be observed, where

where accusation was laid. Even, this did not obtain, and illegally I was dispossessed, prejudged, and ruined *in the very face of that act.*

The most eminent Lawyers of that period, to whom I referred for an opinion on my case, declared I could prosecute and recover my claims from the East India Company, who, they deemed, accountable for the illegal acts of their servants.—But where was the means to go to law with a corporate body?—Where the number of years which would have been requisite?—Where the hope of *substantial justice* against such powerful adversaries in the end?

In the letter notifying *the exparte decision,* not a shadow of any reason was assigned. The memorable words "*Thought proper*" were *alone* used and adopted on the occasion. I need not, to an English ear, intimate and brand them as the sole expedients which Tyrants have resort to, in order to veil or cover their perpetual injustice.

I must here bring in Mr. Barrow's allusion to this act. His misconstruction of it, impels me to elucidate. He is pleased to attach *change of principles,* and *change of name,* (the latter, I apprehend, with the view to cover the *apostacy* of the former measure), to my ejection, and, eventually, to my translation to the Cape of Good Hope.

I shall pass over his preamble to these serious charges, with only one observation, viz. that to a writer so flourishing and embellishing as Mr. Barrow, throughout the course of his work, entitled, "Travels in Africa," proves himself to be, that where the *why* and *wherefore* are found wanting to assign in reason of argument and quotation, nothing is so easy as the resource of saying, that I stood ejected from the Honorable Company's service, *for some reason or other.*

I shall equally refrain from that pointed and severe animadversion, which so unfounded an accusation might draw down on the Author, from any other person, less inured than I am, to the accustomed illiberality of the world, when, such a downfall in life, as the one which I have experienced, has marked the individual for notice and unjust reflection. I shall confine myself alone to facts, leaving to the candid Reader, to exercise his free judgement on the point submitted for decision; trusting, with confidence, both him, as well as Mr. Barrow, will lament the wrongs accumulated on a hoary head, from so great, to give it the meekest term, an inconsiderate assertion.

I resume.—Mr. Barrow is pleased to assert, that with my translation to the Cape, my principles had undergone a total inversion. In short, that I came, swayed and biassed by a decided attachment to the French interest.

So far from any partiality of this nature having been manifested in any instance of my public conduct, I dare appeal to the sense of the British Merchants residing in this Colony, for my decided interference, when in power, having protected their persons and property, when the authority of Government was attempted, improperly, to be exerted against their interests.

They, like Englishmen, felt grateful for my interposition, and honored me accordingly with their public thanks.

My family have ever had a powerful interest in Holland, several of the Grands having in re-

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later years served the Republic. In more recent times, my uncle Sir George Grand,* (subsequently Baron Grand, and grand father to that distinguished commander in His Britannic Majesty's service, the present Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost, Baronet, &c. &c.) one of the *two* Colonels for the Militia of Switzerland, habituated to the exercise of the troops, three months in the year, a corps of brave men composed of sixty thousand, and liable to be called out for the defence of their beloved land, on the alarm given from signal posts, fixed on the highest mountains, within twenty four hours, was at the head of the well known house at Amsterdam of Horneca, Hogguer, Grand, and Fizeaux, (the latter of whom represented the Firm at the head of a considerable House and Manufactory at St. Quentin,) had been of signal service to Holland, and which merit, entitled him to a grateful remembrance. My father, at the head of a House in London and in Spain, an intimate friend and correspondent of the House of Hope; all these were ties sufficient to influence a partiality for a descendant, whose talents and services were considered might be usefully employed in one of their Colonies.

But, admitting, for argument sake, that my appointment had originated from the solicitation of another quarter, doth it follow? Will the impartial reader acknowledge? that such an entire conversion attaches, because those of the highest consideration, appertaining to another nation, partook of a lively interest in an individual's welfare?—Had such a sacrifice been required, no tie on earth would have caused me to assent; nor would my appointment have been sanctioned by the previous approbation of those revered friends in England, who I consulted with on the occasion; and, to whose opinion, had it been contrary, or affected with such sentiments, I would have bowed with submission.

Finally, to put it out of all doubt, I annex a literal copy of my Commission,† together with a translation from the Dutch, for the English reader, relying for conclusion, that in his liberal mind, a sentiment will immediately arise, proceeding from its contents, to the effect, that, had I been capable of such a dereliction of every tie and principle of attachment which had marked my way through life, my selection would not have been, for the service of a nation, indirectly supposed to be connected with it at that juncture, however the Peace of Amiens had proclaimed and established its independency, but that it would have been directly under the banners and auspices of that same nation, with whom, gifts and preferment, of a very superior nature, existed to have bestowed on the individual, whose advancement in life formed the grateful solicitude of those who had, so essentially in their power, benefits to confer.

To Sir Lionel Darell, Sir Francis Baring, Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, the Honorable Charles Elphinstone, George Smith, Esq. and Colonel Swiney Toone, I bow with gratitude for their endeavors in my behalf.—They spoke against the measure; but as most corporate bodies delegate the management and business of their trust, to a few selected for the purpose, in whom the entire confidence rests, so were

 their

* His eldest daughter, with other officers wives, proved of singular use to the relief of the wounded, and making up cartridges, during the siege of Savannah, when these Ladies were refused, by the impolite and inhumane *Invincible Conqueror of Grenada*, to retire on board of the ships, secured from the dangers of its operations.—The Journal of the American War details with its particulars their heroic conduct. Under this *Don Quixotte* title, did Count d'Estaing, with a superior united force commanded by General Lincoln, summon Lieut. General Prevost to surrender.—A sister of Mrs. Prevost, and equally accomplished, was married likewise to a Swiss, Lieut. General Bouquet, in the service of Holland.

† Vide Appendix S. T. V. W. X.

their interposition of no avail. The latter of these gentlemen, particularly came out of the room, and proposed to me, that, *by quitting my claims for remuneration*, and throwing myself at the mercy of the Direction, I should obtain the pension of a Senior Merchant out of employment, viz. five hundred Pounds per annum, a compromise which I flatly refused, being, in its tendency, as disgraceful to my reputation, as injurious to those interested in my welfare, and eventual success in recovering my just dues.

These now became the immediate object. I quitted the ground of hope of continuance in the service, but maintained that, of a servant not liable to be discharged, without a fair reckoning held by his masters, and his arrears of servitude liquidated in full. I exposed this case, as I mentioned before, to the opinion of eminent Lawyers, in particular, to those whose popularity of pleading the liberties and rights of individuals, contending with power, had risen their names to that height of fame, which such conduct and attention in their profession merited.—I was satisfied with their opinions on the statement exhibited, but I found, that however the good foundation, which I had to act upon, the Company might spin out the suit which I brought against them, beyond the time I might reasonably trust to the extension of my career in life; and, independent of this consideration, it would require in its pursuit pecuniary means, of which I was totally destitute. I chimed in, therefore, with the advice of a few friends, to content myself with what was conceded, viz. the reimbursement of the postage money claimed during my administration in Tirhoot, viz. the principal alone, *(however the principal being allowed to be due, the interest on that principal ought equally to have been adjudged)*, and an annuity of one hundred Pounds.—They urged, that taking these, at that juncture, would not invalidate my reviving the rest of my claims, when an opportunity would be more favorable; and they obligingly added, it might possibly enable them to commute the whole, by a restoration to the service, with a good appointment, so soon, as that interest which governed then so despotically, had in time ceased, and been diverted into another channel more promising to my views.

I now come to a conclusion;—but previous thereto, I must introduce a contrast between the reward of services to Mr. Hastings and Lord Wellesley, and those honors conferred on Sir John Shore and Sir George Barlow.

Lord Wellesley, who prided himself in having embraced the political system, and having trod, throughout his splendid administration, in the steps of that great Legislator Warren Hastings, paying him the compliment, at the dinner given to Lord Wellesley in Willis' rooms, where, with the officers of state, and the Company's servants of every Establishment, a numerous party sat down to table, that he (Mr. Hastings) would have left nothing for him (Lord Wellesley) to enact, had the former been vested with the same power, as the Legislature had thought proper the latter should carry out with him, was recalled, for being too profuse, scarcely allowing him time to consolidate the great empire he had formed, nay, disapproving of those measures, which distanced for ever, all native competitors against the English preponderating influence; ejected every hope to the enemy of French local auxiliary aid, in the event of a French expedition to that country; and to crown the absurdity of such proceedings, instructed his successor Lord Cornwallis, whose faculties, whatever they might have been, the disgraceful Peace of Amiens witnessed years before, were on the decline, to cede every acquisition of territory, and yield every advantage, which British valor, and the most judicious system, acted upon by men of decided talents, had, so gloriously for the British interest, obtained.

The death of Lord Cornwallis created a hope of a reversion in politics; but such was the pliability of Sir George

George Barlow's disposition, that, however he had supported Lord Wellesley's plans, he could, for the sake of holding the Government, fall in with the narrow policy, which men, not born to rule an empire, could think the safest system.—Both him, and Sir John Shore, were rewarded with titles and honors;—the one for endangering the loss of the country, from a want of decision, in not acting, as opportunity, convenience, and prudence dictated; the other, for inviting every concession, which courage and talent had cemented; and, in the midst of the highest pinnacle to which the British power had attained, displaying a shameful apprehension, that it could not be retained, either, from weakness of the local Government, or inability of the Government in England, supporting such an extension of territory, whilst Lord Wellesley was disgracefully recalled, and subjected equally to Hastings, to an accusation or impeachment of his, and their glorious administrations.

Posterity will judge impartially, from these connected facts, whether Mr. Hastings and Lord Wellesley, or Sir John Shore and Sir George Barlow, were best deserving of their Country's approbation, and honors conferred!!!

I now resume the sequel and end of my Narrative. Viewing, as I had done, with others, the impossibility of such claims for remuneration being passed over with a spunge, however the Junto ruling in Leaden Hall street, at that period, with such absolute sway, might dispose of me hereafter, I had a good deal lived on the anticipation of their receipt.—The disappointment which I incurred, threw me therefore into great difficulties, and equally disappointed those. to whose bounty I had been indebted; and who, concurring in opinion with me, on the perusal of the statement of my case, that these were irresistible, had cheerfully indulged their liberality, in making pecuniary advances to me, adequate to my support. I was consequently obliged to sell every article of value which I had purchased, and was possessed of; likewise to transfer my annuity for their benefit; and, after suffering privations and hardships, which fell heavy at my time of life, but which, I thank God, the fortitude, with which he had endowed my mind, enabled me to endure with patience, I was relieved by the generosity of a friend, who had a lively remembrance of attachment and obligation, for the conduct which I had observed during prosperity.—With what was left to me, out of this sum, being two fifths of its amount, I departed for the Continent, my tried friends in England approving of the same, and repeating their assurance, they would not be unmindful, to bring forward my claims, and a reconsideration of my case, when they saw a proper opportunity, to exert themselves in behalf of their injured friend. By this same liberal friend, was I offered a handsome pension to live in ease, and to enjoy for the remainder of my days, where the local was most agreeable, and even I was enjoined by the warmest friends of my youth, and career in life, through whom this bounty was tendered, viz. Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Wombwell, to accept of it, and quit the paths of ambition, and the future trouble which might again arise and befall me from public situations. I rejected this munificence intended, not from pride, but, from a consideration, I had other ties, which demanded I should not sink into perfect repose, whilst active faculties permitted me to discharge with credit, stations to which I might be elevated. With these sentiments I assented readily to the proposition subsequently made to me from the Batavian Government, to repair to the Cape of Good Hope in a high station, with the promise of a higher. and the eventual assurance of those friends, to whose interest in my behalf, I felt sincerely grateful, that both rank and fortune were once more within my reach, and that nothing would be spared to throw me into the state, during my sojournment abroad, of the truely pleasing one "*Otium cum dignitate.*"

With

With these prospects, and the fullest reliance of performance, did I embark, vested with my new honors, after the Treaty of Amiens, in a time of profound peace, and with the strongest hope of its continuance, for my destination. The unfortunate war which soon burst out after my arrival, has deprived me of these advantages to which I had looked up with fond delight, not so much for what concerned me personally, but for the gratification of others; and which, from the honesty of those, on whose promises I implicitly trusted, I am persuaded I should, otherwise, have reaped.

Accustomed to vicissitudes, nay seemingly born to experience such, I behold this last, with Philosophic contemplation, "*Flecti non Frangi.*"—I feel blessed in my second domestic attachment, and I thank heaven daily, that what I have been denied in consequence, say worldly honors and riches, it has pleased the Almighty to compensate to me, in unimpaired faculties, and an uncommon share of health and activity, far surpassing, what might be expected, in my years. God grant to me the continuance of these abundant blessings!—And, in the enjoyment of a tranquil mind, not corroded with past events, I shall, when it pleaseth Him to call me, I trust, to a state of immortal happiness, bow with submission, and due veneration, to His divine will.

(Signed) G. F. GRAND.

Cape of Good Hope,
1st February, 1808.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

Orders from Colonel Primrose Gailliez, Commanding the Garrison of Allahabad, and all the troops serving at that juncture out of the Company's Provinces.

To Lieutenant Grand.

SIR,

You are to proceed with all possible expedition, and take charge of the two companies of Sepoys belonging to the 18th Battalion, that are now encamped opposite the Fort of Chunargur, at which place you are to remain.—You are to pay particular attention to the preservation of the said Fort, for which purpose you are to employ a sufficient number of Harcarahs (spies) to bring you intelligence, should any body of troops move that way, with intention to attack it, or should the Serjeant, now commanding in the Fort, at any time send you information of the Kelladar's having treacherous designs against the English troops in the Garrison, you are, in either of these cases, according to circumstances, the validity and nature of such intelligence, to march your detachment into the Garrison, and assume the command; and should you be attacked, you are immediately to send me information thereof, in order that a reinforcement may be sent you, should it be necessary. You are to visit the Garrison twice a week, to see that the Serjeant keeps his people in proper order, as also his Magazine, &c.; and should you at any time think proper to send him any orders which you may deem necessary, for the better preservation of the Fort, he is to obey them.—I shall also give him directions, to acquaint you with every particular circumstance that may happen in his Garrison.

I have the honor, &c. &c.

(*Signed*) PRIMROSE GAILLIEZ,
Colonel Commandant.

Allahabad, April 19th, 1770.

B. To

B.

To Lieutenant Grand

SIR,

His Excellency the Commander in Chief, in consequence of your reference to him, previous to your embarkation for Europe, has ordered me to acquaint you, that throughout the course of your military service, you have deservedly met his approbation, and particularly, for the firm, judicious, and prudent conduct, which you displayed, during the important command, with which you were entrusted at Chunarghur.

I have the honor. &c.

(*Signed*) JOHN COCKERELL,
Aid de Camp.

Calcutta, February the 27th, 1773.

NB. Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker, Knight, was then the Commander in Chief in Bengal, having succeeded Brigadier General Richard Smith, in February, 1779, in that trust.

C. *Letter*

C.

Letter from the Board of Revenue to Mr. Grand.

To G. F. Grand, Esq. Collector of Tirhoot.

SIR,

Having submitted to the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, the accuracy with which your collections have been kept up, and the repeated approbation which you have met with from us in the management of your District, his Lordship in Council has enjoined us to convey to you, what we are sensible you will consider as the most pleasing reward, viz. his thanks upon the occasion.

We are, Sir, &c.

(Signed) WM. COWPER.
T. GRAHAM.
J. MACKENZIE.
J. EVELYN.

Calcutta, 15th December, 1786.

D.

Regulations of the Honorable the Court of Directors, upon, and expressly denominated, Article the 15th of the Regulating Act, sanctioned by Parliament, and passed in 1774, for the better conducting and governing the Hon. Company's Territories in India.

"We direct, that in the collection and management of our Revenues, *you continue*, such of our servants whose collections have *been well kept up*, and who have otherwise distinguished themselves in this department of our service."

APPENDIX.

E.

Regulations of the Honorable the Court of Directors, upon, and expressly denominated, Article the 20th of the Regulating Act of Parliament of 1774.

" *We direct and enjoin* you, that in all cases, and *before the removal* of any *Company's* servant *from any office*, the *party be made acquainted in writing*, with the *accusation* to be preferred, that a reasonable time, not less than fourteen days, be allowed him to reply to the said charge; and, if not satisfactorily, *then*, and *then only*, is he to be suspended from his functions, until our pleasure be made known; and that in all such cases you exercise the utmost circumspection and discretion, furnishing every document to the party, or parties, in writing, and carefully recording the whole of the proceedings in your regular consultations, in order to serve for our final judgement."

F.

Revenue Board.

To G. F. Grand, Esq. Collector of Tirhoot.

SIR,

I am directed by the Board of Revenue to acquaint you, that the Right Hon. the Governor General in Council has thought proper to nominate Mr. Robert Bathurst to your station of Collector of Tirhoot.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Calcutta, 27th of August, 1787. *(Signed)* J. H. HARRINGTON, Secretary.

G. *To*

G.

To Charles, Earl Cornwallis, K. G. Governor General, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

I learn, and, I confess, with astonishment, that a gentleman, Mr. Bathurst, has, from the circumstance of his appointment, being within the limits of those thought proper to be reduced by Government, conceived himself entitled to my Collectorship, and founding his ideas to this in justice, on this ground alone, has commanded your Lordship's attention.

The rules that your Lordship has adopted and is governed by, are marked with such strong impartiality, as to embolden any servant of the Company's, whether recommended to your Lordship's particular protection or not, to prefer his claims with confidence, and to trust equally so in your fair decision.

If Mr. Bathurst, therefore, has impressed your Lordship with a sentiment that there is some ground for this claim, I feel myself in the case described, and with cheerfulness, My Lord, humbly will state mine.

On this supposition being warranted, I apprehend, My Lord, Mr. Bathurst must only have pleaded, that he is senior in the civil service to myself; I know not (and I hope not to be thought presumptuous) any other ground he could have gone upon. It behooves me, in consequence, to do away the strength that may have acquired him; and in this, I trust, I shall succeed. Before, however, the reason of this preference can operate in your Lordship's mind, permit me to hope, that the point may not be regarded as one of contest between Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Grand. The appointments, My Lord, are not consolidated; and on that account, Mr. Bathurst, in his plea of seniority, stands on no better footing than any senior to me in the line, and out of employment, making the same claim.

I proceed, My Lord, to submit my pretensions to your just consideration: next December will be two and twenty years, since I became a servant of the Company; I entered into their military line, and, after seven years service, attaining within the rank of the 8th eldest Lieutenant on the Bengal List, I was obliged, from an infirmity, suddenly to resign their service, and return to England. I relied there on a radical cure, but being disappointed, my friends, joined with the faculty, in thinking a military life, and in a hot climate especially, not adapted to the nature of my complaint, and obtained my removal to the civil line, after two fruitless years spent at home.

I was nominated a Writer only, from the Company having come to a resolution of not sending out originally Civilians of a higher rank; but my friends and myself were assured by the Directors, that the rank I had held in the Military, would be a consideration to their Government abroad, in appointing me to any trusts they might adjudge me worthy to discharge; and in this predicament I was considered, by General Clavering, who, on my arrival, held the majority of Government, as he exempted me from being stationed to any particular office at the Presidency. I, from that time, my Lord, served in the Commercial and Revenue lines; in the first, as Head Assistant to the Commercial Chief at Patna; in the second, as Secretary to the Salt Office, and in my present situation. I believe the character I have held in the course of my service in both lines, Military and Civil, is so established in the world, that I may safely appeal to it to possess your Lordship's favorable

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…Provinces; and occasion
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…from Government; and I highly
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…to be endowed, and as such
…matters deserving of some attention
…I have served in the Country, and been in fact a Company's

…In this work I am a senior Merchant;
…in the constitution of the act, a claim to hold any ap

…for my employers: and it is the pleasure you
…I pray to impress your Lordships with favourable sentiments.

favorable opinion. In the Military, General Smith, then Commander in Chief, upon the testimony of Colonel Chapman, my Commanding Officer, appointed me, on his quitting India, to the eldest Lieutenancy of his brother's battalion of Sepoys, then serving out of the Provinces; and occasionally, during three years that we remained out of them, I was entrusted with separate commands, at Chunar, Allahabad, and the Carumnassch.

In the civil line, My Lord, Mr. Hastings, in February, 1782, honored me with my appointment of Collector of the Sarcars (provinces) of Tirhoot and Hajeepore, and his Council unanimously concurred in his recommendation. I found a district assessed at near seven Laacks, including a proportion of 130,000 out of five Laacks, that Mr. Hastings two years had put an encrease of, on the Revenue of the Subah (viz. Bahar), then yielding under forty Laacks; the country had been thrown into confusion; the renters had so mismanaged, as instead of the encreased proportion being produced, a large deficiency in the first year had occurred: in the second the system was changed. In the middle of the Hindostanee year, I was directed to take charge; and notwithstanding a balance of 70,000 Rupees was then due, I realized that, together with the current Revenue. Mr. Hastings was pleased to approve of my conduct, and year after year, My Lord, I have equally, I flatter myself, deserved the same approbation from Government; and I highly esteemed it as an auspicious event, being soon after your Lordship's arrival, *honored with your thanks*. The manufactories founded early by me, the repute they have grown into, and the consequence they will every further year prove to the Company, as well as of a fair advantage to myself, may entitle me likewise to some commendation.

I am aware, that Mr. Bathurst says he has been injured by his appointment having been lessened, and thereby brought into the predicament it now stands.—I am willing, My Lord, to own, he may have been so, but that not by myself; no part of his district was lopped off by me; what part was, was attached to other districts, and happened when his appointment probably was considered only a temporary one: being a Superintendant over Meha Rajah Cullcansing, who still remained in the management of several Mehals in this Subah, and not a Collector: at all events, My Lord, mine was formed into its present consistency long before Mr. Bathurst's was even judged necessary; and as it certainly has not, My Lord, been an instance of your Government to remove one gentleman, whose appointment is not done away, to put in another, I refer my case, if it is to become one, confidently to your Lordship's sense of justice and propriety.

The only apprehensions I entertained of losing mine, were grounded on the possibility of your Lordship having been guided by the regular seniority of Collectors, without any reference had to their local knowledge, or to their stations, however not innovated on by these new regulations; had this been the maxim, I, certainly, could not have come within the number of those to be employed, and as such, must have yielded, could I not have been in your Lordship's sentiments deserving of some attention and exception, from the several years I have served in the Military, and been in fact a Company's servant twenty-two years.

I have another point, my Lord, to adduce in my behalf. In this month I am a senior Merchant; and, included in that denomination, have, in the construction of the act, a claim to hold any appointment.

These, my Lord, are the reasons I have to offer for my continuing; and, in the pleasure you have to deal equitably by all men, I promise myself your Lordship will pardon the intrusion.

I have avoided, my Lord, to touch on want of fortune, however the series of years elapsed since I have been endeavouring to raise a small independency; neither on the irreparable ruin that would attend my removal, in the loss of my Manufactories, &c. Such topics, merely calculated to excite pity, I have thought of no weight, compared to arguments in point, submitted to the liberality and candor of an upright tribunal.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) G. F. GRAND, Collector.

Tirhoot, 3d June, 1787.

H.

To John Shore, Esq. and President and Members of the Board of Revenue.

GENTLEMEN,

As I have not been favored with any reply to my letters of the 20th of May, 15th, and 21st of September, one of the latter containing an account, demands, receipts, and disbursements, to the end of the year 1194 Fussily, I beg leave to call your attention again to them, with a view that, before I quit the Presidency, I may receive the self satisfaction of knowing, *Whether to the close of the execution of the duties of my station, as Collector of Tirhoot, you deem me deserving of your approbation?*

Should I, in your judgement, be thought entitled to this acknowledgement, it will be an addition to the repeated flattering commendations with which you have honored me; and as such, it cannot escape your discernment, that it concerns my reputation they should not be withheld at this juncture, since their omission would imply an indirect censure on my conduct. I trust, therefore, Gentlemen, you will consider this my solicitation, as a duty I owe to myself, and, in consequence, favor me with your early determination.

I have the honor, &c.

(Signed) G. F. GRAND,

Calcutta, 24th January, 1788. Late Collector of Tirhoot.

Letter from the Board of Revenue to Mr. Grand.

Revenue Board, G. F. Grand, Esq.

SIR,

We have received your letter of the 24th instant. On our examination of the annual accounts of your collections for the Fussily year 1194, we have pleasure in observing, that the Revenues lately under your charge have been well kept up. We have also pleasure in acknowledging the essential information communicated in your letter of the 20th of May, respecting the revenues and usages in the District of Tirhoot.*

Adverting, on this occasion, to the recent arrangement of the Province of Bahar, by which another Gentleman has been appointed to your late station, we deem it incumbent upon us to express our entire satisfaction with your management, and the zeal and ability with which you conducted the functions of that important charge.

We are, Sir, &c.

Calcutta, 29th January, 1788. Signed by the Board of Revenue.

J. *To*

* This letter is wanting to complete the Appendix.

APPENDIX.

J.

To the Honorable the Court of Directors of the Honorable the East India Company.

HONORABLE SIRS,

I beg leave to submit to your Honorable Court a summary statement of the claims contained in my Memorial of the 30th of June 1798; trusting to the liberality of your Honorable Court, and the sense of justice which actuates every individual in it, to consider me worthy of some compensation for the hardships I so clearly proved myself to have undergone.

No. 1.

Dawk or Post charges, by bill sent in 1st September, 1787,

		Sa. Rs.
Principal		600 0 0
Interest		

The established Post for letters from the Presidency to the Upper Stations extended only to Patna, fifty miles short of the residence at which I was stationed by the Government. This allowance has been claimed and received by others in similar circumstances, viz. Mr. Champain, the Judge of Tirhoot, and Mr. Bathurst, as will be found by a reference to the public Accounts.

No. 2.

Travelling charges from Calcutta to Patna, in March, 1793,

Principal		850 0 0
Interest		

In the October preceding I was ordered down to the Presidency, where no proceedings were held against me; and, at the time specified, I was referred back to Patna. The customary travelling charge was allowed me for coming, and this claim is for the expences of my return, to which I had an equal right.

No. 3.

Salary as Judge and Magistrate of Patna for six months

Principal	15,000	
Deduct the moiety for November, paid me by Mr. Foley, the Civil Paymaster, ...	1,250	
Total		13,750 0 0

I claim the salary as my due, until the date of the appointment of my successor, the office continuing in my name until that period.

No. 4.

A reasonable compensation for the period I was out of employment, when compelled to quit and deliver up my station to Mr. Bathurst, till appointed Judge of Patna.

Difference

		Sa. Rs.
Difference between Mr. Bathurst's and Mr. Grand's receipts for one year,	28,000	
Is, for eleven months, viz. from the 1st of October, 1787, to the 1st of September, 1788,	—	25,666 10 8
	Interest	

An equitable relief for the damage caused to me by the compulsive sale of my House and Land, and Manufactories.

Prime cost of the House and Land,	30,000	
Mr. Bathurst allowed me only,	10,000	
Difference		20,000 0 0
Value of the Indigo Manufactories as proved by a subsequent sale,	84,000	
Forced sale by order of Government,	35,200	
Difference		49,000 0 0

No. 5.

Such a retribution as may be deemed reasonable for my total privation of office, from the 1st of May, 1793, to the day of quitting India, which ought to be calculated at the full difference between 30,000 *Sa. Rs.* per annum, of which I was deprived, and 4,000 *Sa. Rs.* yearly, the sum allowed me.

Annual difference, 26.000—Is for five years eight months, viz. from the 1st of May, 1793, to the 1st of February, 1799, ... 1,47,333 4 8

Annual Interest on 26,000.

If your Honors will be pleased to consider the clear and palpable justice of every one of these items, and, at the same time to weigh the incalculable hardships attending a forced residence at the expensive Settlement of Calcutta for so many years, which, of itsetf, may be deemed a very oppressive fine, ruinous to any private individual, with the loss of the best and most active years of my life, rendered equally useless to my employers and myself; my appeal to your candor and humanity will, certainly, not be offered in vain; and in that perfect confidence, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

With due deference and respect,

G. F. GRAND.

London, 10*th June*, 1800.

NB. This Memorial was delivered in; the former which was transmitted from Bengal, it was intimated to me, had been thought too prolix to claim *their attentive consideration*.

APPENDIX.

K.

Copy of a Letter, transmitted to Mr. Grand, by the Board of Revenue, in August, 1789.

To Mr. G. F. Grand, late Collector of Tirhoot.

SIR,

I am directed by the Board of Revenue to acquaint you, that the Honorable the Court of Directors, in their general letter per Swallow, have been pleased to express their entire approbation of your services; and the high sense they entertain of the ability manifested in your management of the late trust committed to your charge.

I am Sir, &c.

Calcutta, August 18th, 1789. (Signed) J. H. HARRINGTON, Secretary.

NB. The Revenues were not only kept up annually, but were materially encreased during my administration of six years in Tirhoot, together with a heavy balance realized, which I found due from the Country in the middle of the year when I took charge; and further, that not a mowza or village, nor an acre of land, was sold during the whole of that period on account of any arrears or balance of revenue.

L.

To the Honorable the Court of Directors of the United East India Company.

HONORABLE SIR & SIRS,

1. With the papers which I have requested Government to forward for your information, and, in appeal to your justice, I beg leave, Honorable Sirs, to recapitulate what has given rise to your being troubled with such a detail.

2. In February, 1782, after having served in the Commercial line, first, as Secretary to the Salt Committee, and Examiner to the Board of Trade, and secondly, as Head Commercial Assistant at Patna; I was nominated by Governor Hastings, with the concurrence of His Council, Messrs. Wheeler and Macpherson, Collector of the Sarcars Tirhoot and Hajeepore, in Subah Bahar; and, after officiating in that trust five years and a half, with the constant and yearly approbation of Government, and, finally sanctioned with that of your Honorable Court, conveying, and dignifying me with its thanks, for my administration, all which testimonials appear in those exhibits, which the printed case contains, I was most unprecedentedly, and in the face of two Regulations (vide 15 and 20 Articles of the Regulating Act of 1774, the tenor of which ensured my permanency in the trust which I held, so long, as I acted up to the spirit and letter of them), removed from my office and station, in order to give way, as it will appear in the case, for another servant more highly patronized than I was; and this, I am warranted to say, because not a shew of ground or precedent existed for such an act, and the very reverse had operated on the said occasion in Bengal, when the arrangements were fixed for consolidating the Judicial and Revenue Departments into one nomination. and allotting the several Districts with their respective Chiefs.

3. This case, your Honorable Court knows, however strong my ground of complaint was, and the irreparable ruin that followed it, I forbore to trouble you with, as originally had been the intent; and this, from assurances which I received from the governing power, of every compensation being made me, together with an actual regret expressed that such a removal had taken place.

4. I was thus twelve months out of employment, subsisting on the pension of a senior Merchant, 325 *Sa. Rs.* per month, when I was appointed, unsolicited, as had been customary with other servants, to the station of Judge and Magistrate of Patna, whilst my predecessor in that trust, Mr. Mercer, was appointed Collector or Chief of the province of Burdwan; and, however I immediately begged to be exonerated from the acceptance of the former station, yet the flattering encomiums bestowed on me, with a promise it should only be temporary, and Mr. Mercer's promotion cited as an example of the Judicial being no bar to the Revenue line, were reasons and condescensions that made it obligatory on me to assent.

5. After four years spent in this laborious avocation, I was ordered, both myself and Assistant, by separate letters, to repair to the Presidency, previously delivering over charge of my offices of Judge and Magistrate to Mr. Henry Douglas, a servant, junior even to my Assistant Mr. Cornelius Bird.

6. In compliance with these orders, and ignorant to what other purposes my services might be directed and required, I delivered over charge, and came to the Presidency. On my arrival, I was told, for the first time, that charges had been given in against me.—I observed, humbly, if this was the cause of a removal,

moval, it did not justify the act, because Government must have known, that a positive Regulation, even sanctioned by Parliament, existed to a direct contrary purport, and expressly specifying and prescribing the only form and mode in such cases to be adopted. That, in the present one, my disgrace was proclaimed before trial, nay, before examination, and under a perfect ignorance of the grounds. That nevertheless, if, as I was then informed, there were charges, I entreated, in order that I might have the opportunity of personally meeting them, that they might be brought forward without delay.

7. To this natural request, I received a direct assent. Nevertheless, on the 28th Dec. 1792, and nearly three months after the first *informal* act was committed, a Committee of three Company's servants, one in high station at Patna, the Commercial Chief, and two other gentlemen out of employ, were nominated to repair to Patna, to enquire into my administration for four years preceding that period, and there *to receive* and *to try to condemnation* or acquittal, any charges, which they would think proper *to form* out of the subject of any petitions or complaints which *might be* given in against me, in consequence of *a Proclamation* which the Committee, on their arrival, had issued to the said effect. And this tribunal instituted at the Presidency where I was, formed on the spot itself, at Patna, and commencing its proceedings in February two months afterwards, without *the smallest official notice being communicated to me thereof.*

8. But, on the 11th of the month following, a necessity to this effect existed. For, it appeared, that the Committee meeting and finding that the Instructions of Government went to authorize them to proceed in judgment *en dernier ressort*, they rightly judged, that their proceedings, so carried on, would be liable in the end to being questioned and impeached as to their validity, and on this head, conveying their opinions to government, they added an humble suggestion of the propriety of the party himself attending, or an agent on his part, legally and sufficiently authorized, and without which, they declared, they could not go into examination. Government, I apprehend, being satisfied with the justice of this suggestion, I received from the Secretary, on the 16th of March, *official notification of the Committee's appointment*, on the *preceding December*, with a copy of the Committee's first letter, in consequence of which, Government were pleased to signify to me, that with the view of giving effect to the Committee's proceedings, I had it in option, either to attend in person at Patna, or depute a native agent there, for the purpose.

9. Without presuming to cavil, however aggrieved I felt, on the whole that had occurred till that day regarding my situation; without commenting on the gross impossibility that a servant of any rank, or description, nor indeed a gentleman, could ever entertain the idea of entrusting to a *native agent* the defence of his character, fame, reputation, or property, I briefly replied, by acknowledging the letter and its enclosures, and respectfully acquainted Government, that I should attend in person.

10. Some days necessarily elapsed, before I could travel post, by Dauck bearers being laid at the several stations, &c. I set off, however, on the 21st, and on the 26th I reached my destination.

11. Before the occurrences of one week were over, I found, that the Committee, however well founded their suggestion to Government was, and the result of which they consistently ought to have awaited, had met in Committee, and, had actually proceeded *into examination, exparte*. Nevertheless, and however I was denied by them a document, which I conceived in my fullest right to demand,

demand, particularly, after what had appeared from the Committee's first letter, viz. a copy of their Instructions, I resolved, (degraded, as I was, from official function, debarred, from every honor and respect due to my station, and likely to be even more degraded, by being confronted with the lowest class of those who had been subjected to my authority as Magistrate), yet, to attend, and to attend even in person; and here, I beg my Honorable Masters will notice, that I officially signified in writing to the Committee this resolution. And, this impression I wish to convey to their minds, in this place, because they will find in a part of the proceedings, that I was accused, subsequently by Government, of having taken every mode to defeat and frustrate the said enquiry of the Committee.

Yet my degradation was not complete; for I might be ordered to resume my official functions, from which I felt only virtually suspended, and this, not apparently arising from accusation and construed guilt, after the proceedings of the Committee had terminated. But, on the 4th of April, the veil was drawn, notification having arrived, that Government had thought proper to appoint, on the 27th of March, six days after I quitted Calcutta, Mr. Henry Douglas, to the stations of Judge and Magistrate of Patna, which appointment was to take place and have its full force, with other similar arrangements, from the ensuing 1st of May.

As full time, however, intervened, to enable me by personal application to avert the full effect of this severe stroke, instead of meeting the Committee in person on the next day, as had been fixed, I made all the haste possible to the Presidency; and, on the 16th of April, sent in a letter of respectful remonstrance to the uncommon mode of proceeding, which had in its commencement, and uniformly to that date, operated against me; and submissively entreating, that the resolution of the 27th of March, relative to Mr. Douglas' appointment to my offices, to take place on the 1st of May, might be revoked, or, at least suspended, until I had undergone trial, and the event of the enquiry and sentence on my conduct been known in the world. That this reasonable boon being granted, and thereby, myself neither prejudged nor punished, I was ready and prepared to meet any charge, and eventually appear before the appointed Tribunal, or any other which Government might be pleased to institute as corresponding most with their approbation.

I intimated officially to the Committee my determination of returning to the Seat of Government, and, at the same time, acquainted them, that it would not have the effect of impeding their proceedings, since they already had, however their avowed conviction of its tendency, thought proper to proceed in my case, in an *exparte* manner, and indeed avowed their intention of continuing the same process whether I attended or not.

My application to Government of the 16th April was negatived, and on the 10th of May I received a letter, assigning reasons for the steps they had been pleased to take, to which I made a becoming reply on the 20th of that month.

I heard no more from the Government till the 27th of August, when I was desired to explain some points regarding an apparent deficiency in the Fund of the deposits of the Court, stated to have been disbursed during my administration, from some individuals, whose oaths were required to that effect, having deposed, that, out of an aggregate of 72,000 Rupees, 65,000 Rupees of which were acknowledged upon oath to have been *bona fide* received, and without any deduction; and the other 7000 Rupees said not to have

have been received, however receipts in some cases had been extorted, and in others, comprehended in this sum, the attestations went so far, as to say, that payments had not been made, nor receipts had been given.

This, I understood, as the vulnerable point, which Government had deemed proper to extract from the Committee's proceedings and report, and required, in consequence, a satisfactory explanation. And this, I flattered myself to have afforded by my letter of the 5th of September in answer thereto; humbly concluding, that I should submit to what Government chose to direct, even, *if the neglect of the Treasurer was to them apparent, to make up the deficiency, if demanded*, although, I trusted, it had not escaped their observation, *the very great disproportion* in the amount of the payments acknowledged, and the amount of those disavowed. And, here, I thought had the whole ended; and I waited, with suitable patience, the decision of Government on the above point.

In March 1794, remarking, that many of my juniors in the service had been promoted to stations, whilst my personal applications to Government, for a reinstatement to my station, or an adequate one bestowed, lay neglected, I addressed myself in writing publicly to this effect, and I received no answer, though I was led to believe that my letter would meet with a favorable attention.

But the same grievances continuing, viz. of seeing my juniors selected for high stations, whilst I remained out of employ, I humbly, on the 20th of May, 1794, claimed the notice of Government, to the measures which had affected me, and which, situated as I was, I could not, but deem, had been harsh, informal, and illegal, and solicited a total revision of my case.

To this entreaty, receiving no answer, I reminded Government of my claim for payment of arrears of salary and travelling charges, both which, were denied to me, on a specific reason assigned, viz. that "Government would not take the said claim into consideration, until they came to a "decision on the whole of my case."—This was sufficient, and trusting it would not be delayed, I forbore to importune. But, falling ill towards the close of the year, and which illness encreasing in April, 1795, I then stated to the Board my right to preferment, unless they deemed, that in the whole of the proceedings and report of the Committee, a bar, rather, to such preferment existed, until some point or points, which, in their opinions, might have militated against me, were not satisfactorily elucidated, and, *in this case, I required a copy of the whole proceedings and report.*

Again, from receiving no answer, I, on the 1st of September, 1795, assumed the fair deduction that no such bar prevailed, since, no reply to this effect was made, nor, were a copy of the proceedings, as I required, transmitted; and I therefore, again urged my hope of employment, adducing even the just plea of my distressed situation, both in regard to my feelings as an old servant remaining uncalled upon to act in the service, and my private sensations, from the embarrassed state of my affairs which every day accumulated. But neither did this address, nor the preceding one in April, accelerate in any degree, the decision, which in September, 1794, *they had promised*, and I, of course, anxiously expected.

Tired and wearied, having no specific ground for an appeal to the justice of my superiors in England; no money, nor means at command, to resign the service, and repair there for redress; no possibility of extricating myself from the pecuniary embarrassments which fell on me, I bore with every

every misery that could be endured, in the conscious hope, that by a change of Government, measures would be reversed in my behalf, and that system of inattention, tantamount to the most cruel injustice, at length, cease.

But, this change being deferred much beyond the time it had generally been conjectured that it would take place, my necesities arose to that pitch of want, which made it no longer possible to bear with such sufferance, and I therefore, in September last year, reminded Government that *three years* had *then* elapsed, since they had informed me that they would decide on my claim to my arrears of salary and travelling charges, when my case came under their due consideration, and that *I implored them* in consequence, to maturely reflect on my situation, and issue an order for the said payment.

This letter, with the rest that preceded, brings to one view the consistency of both applications, however distantly preferred, and as Government were deaf to my distresses, and determined, as it appears, by their Resolution of the 23d February, this year, not to relieve them in any shape. This letter, written the preceding September, brought forth, at last, the decision of the whole of my conduct as Judge and Magistrate for the city of Patna, during four years; and this decision (for the delay of which, as affecting an individual, no possible palliation can be liberally admitted) *unheard*, *uncontroverted*, and founded, as they themselves allege, *on presumptive conclusion*; for they declare, without alleging *any specific charge*, or *explaining any ground*, "That they nevertheless entertained the fullest conviction of my "guilt, and plead, as an excuse for not descending into particulars, that an alteration in the system of "justice having intervened, they were precluded therefrom!!!" I trust the freedom with which I have commented on such a plea, will be pardoned; and however it may be thought too forcible, yet, that it will draw an inversion of sentiment, favorable to what I allege, against so untenable a ground having ever been admitted to stop or retard the course of justice.

Ruined in my fortunes after three and thirty years service; wounded in that fair fame which I sought to acquire in the course of my professional duties, I have, verging to the age of fifty, no prospect remaining, but the distant, though bright one, of your justice.

Fearful already of this detail being much too prolix, yet submitting it with every confidence, that from its nature, so interesting and decisive to my fate, its fatiguing prolixity will not only be generously forgiven, but that its purport will meet with the most earnest commiseration and attention, I shall make no further reference to the tenor of the accompanying letters, but, in the eyes of an upright and impartial Tribunal, accustomed even to look with remission on the errors of their servants, leave them to rest simply upon their own merits, and unadorned with that flower of language, alone used, and introduced, to throw a gloss, and act, in support to false inferences and tortured constructions, where the desire to convict operates.

Calcutta, 30th June, 1798.

(Signed) G. F. GRAND.

N.

To G. F. Grand, Esq. Judge and Magistrate of Patna,

SIR,

I have it in command from the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, to inform you, that a Committee has been appointed in *December* last, to enquire into your conduct as Judge and Magistrate of Patna, to repair to the spot, and receiving what complaints *may be* presented against your administration, to try them, and proceed to judgement.

The said Committee having met and assembled, have thought proper to suggest to his Lordship, how far their proceedings would be validated, in the event of their being prosecuted *ex parte*.—You have, consequently, Sir, the Governor General's leave to attend on the said Committee, either in person, or *by native agent*, in order to answer and refute whatever charges are brought against your official functions.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW, Secretary to Government.

Calcutta, 5th March, 1793.

O.

Instructions for three Company's Civil Servants delegated to proceed to Patna and judge Mr. Grand, or rather to sentence him.

To Samuel Charters, Edward Ephraim Pote, and John Fendall, Esquires, the Committee for enquiring into the conduct of Mr. G. F. Grand, Judge and Magistrate of the City of Patna.

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Governor General in Council to transmit to you the following Instructions.

First. Accompanying you will receive an extract from the proceedings of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, respecting a suit instituted in the Dewanny Adawlut of the city of Patna, for the property of the late Lolldass. The Governor General in Council desires that you will ascertain what measures, *(whether entered upon record or not)* were taken by Mr. Grand regarding this suit and property; and report the result of your enquiry to his Lordship in Council, with such remarks upon it, as you may think necessary.

Second. Inclosed is transmitted to you a copy of the correspondence, between the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and Mr. Grand, respecting the property under attachment in the Patna Court, and also on account of deposits transmitted by Mr. Douglas the acting Judge. His Lordship in Council desires you will enquire into the manner in which the money deposits, and the proceeds of the property, that has been under attachment in the Patna Court, since Mr. Grand's appointment, have been disposed of: particularly ascertaining whether a fair account of these sums has been rendered to the parties in the suits; and whether they have received the amount to which they were entitled?

Third. You will transmit to the Governor General in Council for his orders, any complaints that *may be* preferred to you against Mr. Grand or his officers, for acts done in their official capacity.

Fourth. You will enquire into and report upon the following exactions, stated to have been made in the city by the Cutwaal Koarsing.

On all boats, small and large, four Pice each on going and coming, and also on moving from one Gaut to another at Patna.—From the salt sellers in Sharooff Gunge, some twelve Rupees, some three, some two, *ad arbitrium*, besides a continual exaction of several other Bazar collections.

Mr. Henry Douglas, the acting Judge at Patna, has been ordered to allow you to have access to all the papers and records of the Court, and *to furnish you with such information*, and assistance, as you may require from him.

I am, &c.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW, Sub Secretary.

Council Chamber, 28th Dec. 1792.

NB. Pray remark, that Loldass' business in which Munnowerdass' house was concerned, had been settled *ten* months before, and that I had contended with the Board, who had interfered in the behalf

half of the latter, that my judicial process was perfectly correct, and conformable to every rule of practice of any Judge whatsoever; and here it dropped.

However the time elapsed, Munnowerdass, upon the appointment of this Committee, *was instructed*, to give in a plaint, yet this plaint, fraught with every lie devized on the occasion, was fully investigated by the said Committee, and even, by the Committee's proceedings *ex parte*, (from the time they commenced sitting, to that of my arrival at Patna), I stood amply acquitted.

Pray observe likewise, that these exactions as stated, which, I call heaven to witness, I knew nothing of, came to the Board's information, by a Sooruthaal, framed *in November*, signed by a few blackguards of the city, and collected by a Vakeel going about declaring he had Mr. Douglas's directions, and who *acted by the Lord's orders*, to this effect. Ergo, on this ground, there was no subject of plaint *prior to my recall in October*; and I declare to God, if any such complaint had been preferred to me in Court, where I sat daily, against the Cutwal, I would that instant have dismissed him, had it been established!

But it is just in regard to this man to observe, (and he was a man, vigilant in his office, active and daring, who had for his capacity, to act in this trust, been promoted thereto by Mr. Ewan Law,* consequently no creature of mine), that I have understood subsequently, he was tried individually on every charge, and was fully acquitted on each.

As for the rest of the Instructions, their spirit bespeaks too evidently, not a wish to convert suspicion into proof, (for suspicion *even* appears not to be grounded), but design into charge; and as such they are too contemptible to excite comment.

But will it be believed? Can it? that in a regular Government, where Regulations, sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, exist, for the governing power, and equally, for the liberty and protection of the individual servant, that in defiance of these, nay, in open vindication of them, a civil servant of so many years standing, (and who had particularly in a former station, wherein he acted as Chief of a district above five years, deserved well and received the thanks of his employers) should, at a minute's warning, have been forced from his station, junior servants running from all points with directions to assume it; and this, from a situation of a Judge and Magistrate of a city?

And the reader will be prepared, from so strong a measure, outstripping every propriety, to see heinous charges, that might palliate so informal an act. Let him read the instructions, prepared for an awful Tribunal, to sit in judgement on the *proclaimed* culprit, three months after the recall, and candidly judge!—It is needless to point out to those acquainted with the term and nature of the document (Sooruthaal), that in no court of judicature in this country (India), it is ever admitted either as evidence or fact. It meets uniformly with a similar contempt, to what the introduction of a Robin Hood statement, would in our law courts, at home, if attempted to be introduced.

S. *Extract*

* A Gentleman whose memory will ever be remembered by the natives of every description in Bahar with gratitude and respect, for his equitable administration as Chief of that Province;—and whose amiable character in private life, lives in the esteem of his brother servants.

S.

Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van het Staats-Bewind der Bataafsche Republiek.

MAANDAG den 20 September 1802.

Op het ter Vergadering geproponeerde, is, na gehoudene deliberatie, besloten tot Raad Consulent van het Gouvernement aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop te benoemen en aan te stellen, zoo als geschied by deze, den Burger *George Francois Grand,* en zulks op een Tractement van *twee duizend Guldens* 's jaarlyks.

En zal Extract dezes aan den Secretaris van Staat voor de Buitenlandsche Zaken, en aan den Raad der Asiatische Bezittingen en Etablissementen, worden gezonden, mitsgaders aan den Burger *G. F. Grand* worden uitgereikt, tot informatie en narigt respectivelyk.

Accordeert met het voorsz. Register,

S. DASSEVAEL, Secretaris.

Aan den Burger G. F. GRAND.

TRANSLATION.

Extract from the Consultations of an Assembly of the States governing the Batavian Republic.

MONDAY, the 20th September, 1802.

In this Assembly it was this day proposed, and after mature deliberation resolved, to nominate Mr. George Francis Grand, to the station of Privy Counsellor of the Government at the Cape of Good Hope; and he is accordingly appointed and established in the above situation, with a Salary annexed thereto of two thousand Caroli guilders, annually.

And further it was resolved, to transmit copies of this nomination to the Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, to the Directors of the East India Company, and to Mr. G. F. Grand, in order to serve for their respective guidance.

Conformable to the Extract,

(Signed) S. DASSEVAEL, Secretary.

To MR G. F. GRAND

T.

The Privy Counsellor G. F. Grand, to His Excellency Lt. General Janssens. Governor and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

I have the honor to submit to your Excellency, that several English inhabiting this Colony under the protection of the Laws of the Batavian Republic, and perfectly peaceable and obedient to its Government, consider themselves, notwithstanding the representations which they have made, founded on Article the 4th of your Proclamation of the 9th February, endangered in being secluded from its benefit. This apprehension proceeds from some, to whom the option of continuing their residence has already been refused. Many of these have formed local alliances, and, blessed with a numerous posterity, have besides an interest in the possessions which they have acquired, to the agriculture of which their attention has been so devoted, that the Natives, by following their example, and improved mode of cultivation, have reaped the most material advantage to their natural soil and its product.—Independent of this consideration, Sir, they enjoy a personal respect amongst the first class of people here, who, I am warranted in saying, will readily step forth to become their securities, that, in no respect, will they disturb or affect the tranquillity and welfare of the Government, under which they are permitted to reside.

Have the goodness therefore to attend to the situation of such who come under this immediate description.

Allow me, likewise, when soliciting in their behalf, by endeavouring to mitigate the rigor of the order against them, in a request, that, at least the time fixed for their departure may be prolonged; an indulgence, if I may so call it, that the state of their concerns imperiously requires, to represent to you, that a measure so enforced, without any distinction, might be the means of causing the most disagreeable consequences, and the severest retaliation, on those Dutch and French, who, in a similar situation, are domiciliated, for the sake of commerce, subjected to the English Government in India.—Even in Calcutta, the Seat of Government, the respectable house of Messrs. *Vialars et Compagnie*, de Marseille, has there been long known. In that city, a brother, Mr. E. Vialars, directs their concerns, freed from any molestation whatsoever; with the sole exception, in time of war, of being restricted from any armaments by sea; otherwise they pursue, without any restraint, their purchases, sales, and what relates to the internal trade of the country, in the customary manner which prevails amongst merchants, in the most profound time of peace.

Messrs. *Grilliard et Compagnie* form another firm of men, associated for the sole purpose of commercial views, and are each of them Frenchmen born, and consequently subjects of its Government. I could, likewise, with the assistance of memory, bring in point other houses composed of people of that nation, and long established in the sea ports of Calcutta and of Madras, &c. as also in principal towns far removed from those harbors, and situated in the interior of India.

Although I entertain no idea, that my declaration, not made without mature deliberation, should be thought wanting by your Excellency of other proof to corroborate its purport, yet as there are many Frenchmen in this town, who have been occasionally sojourners in India, I would wish, Sir, for your satisfaction, that you would call for their depositions on this point; and however, I have not,

not, at this moment, had the honor of any intercourse with the English Commissary for Prisoners, Captain Shaw from Madras, yet, I have no doubt, that in the event of your seeking information from him on this subject, he would, readily, on the sacred word of an officer, give you the same detail, as I have the honor of doing, with every possible hope in favor of men whose demeanour and conduct entitle them to such protection; and who, individually, I may aver, lament and feel unfortunate enough, from their pursuits being disturbed by the War, which has again arisen, without attaching on them consequences, which would, in their tendency, inflict the most irrecoverable and deadly blow to their personal concerns.

I have the honor, &c.

G. F. GRAND.

Cape Town, Sunday 26th Frebuary, 1804.

V. BA-

V.

BATAVIAN TROOPS IN SOUTH AFRICA,

Head Quarters, Cape of Good Hope, Feb. 27th, 1804.

J. W. JANSSENS, *Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony the Cape of Good Hope, and its Dependencies,*

To the Privy Counsellor Grand.

PRIVY COUNSELLOR,

I yesterday received your esteemed favor.—Without having recourse to the testimony of others, I beg to state, that I repose the most unlimited confidence in the facts you have laid before me, and do not therefore doubt, but there are foreigners living under the English Government in Bengal, and foreigners too, who belong to nations, at war with Great Britain. I do not, however, conceive, that because in India, where the English are so powerful, some few persons, subjects of an enemy's country, are permitted to reside, the Dutch in South Africa should, for that reason, be obliged to suffer to remain there, a vast number of English subjects, and especially after certain occurrences which have taken place.

How would the Governor be able to answer for his conduct, if the interests of the tortured but innocent Mother Country, were to be sacrificed to foreign interests, to the interests of a power with which we are at war, when, by the adoption of determined and appropriate measures, he might have had it in his power to prevent it?

Why does the English Government refuse Dutch subjects permission to reside in English possessions? Are they not ordered in England, to quit it within a very short space of time? and informed that the ships for their conveyance await them. Is it to be supposed, that a few Dutch subjects in the Kingdom of Great Britain are more dangerous than so great a number of English subjects in South Africa? There are no personal feelings on my part against individuals; most of the English whom I have seen here, have, in as far as I know, conducted themselves well; but the acts of their Government towards our fellow countrymen, justify, nay, even demand *reprisals.*

With the English it is necessary to be more cautious than with other nations; they are the most unwilling of any people, to shake off the obligations imposed upon them by their birth: and the laws of their country do not even permit them to break the ties, by which they are bound to the nation.

If the English were required to take oaths, which others take, or would take without hesitation, those who did take them would be perjured, and consequently be unworthy of being trusted afterwards; or they would refuse to take them, and what then? Would not such a demand be more cruel than sending them away?

The measure adopted against the English here, is, without any harshness, general or national; the exceptions must not be numerous and only individual, and strong motives must justify the execution of the

the Law.—It would, in my opinion, be arbitrary on the part of the Governor, and consequently a deviation from his duty, were he to suffer many exceptions to the Law, and, in that case, those, to whom permission to remain was refused, might with justice complain, and, instead of considering the measure as an unfortunate consequence of the War, might look at it as a particular persecution of their persons.

It is, in my opinion, an unreasonable demand, that individuals, previous to addressing themselves, should wish to know, whether their requests will be accorded. I respect national, and even individual, pride, but it must not be at the expence of the dignity of others.

I have commenced by refusing some to continue their residence in this Colony, chiefly, in order that the applications to that end shall not become general; the memorials of those, who have a chance of obtaining favorable decisions, or respecting whom I have not as yet received sufficient information, are at present laying over; and it is my intention in the course of a few days, to signify my ultimate pleasure relative thereto; those who are too late in applying, do not afford an opportunity for the requisite enquiries to be made, and can therefore in no wise expect a favorable result; however, be it as it may, I repeat, that the measure adopted of compelling the English to depart, must remain national, and the exceptions be but few and individual; and even then only in favor of those persons, who, in a most general point of view, can be considered useful to this Settlement, among whom, agriculturists ought certainly in the first place to rank; the more numerous foreign connections become, the fewer are those which remain that bind and attach to the Mother Country, and this a Government ought not to countenance and favor.

Altho' I enjoy no pleasure in the Colony, and indeed have none to look forward to during my stay here, still my duty and inclination attaches me to its interests, but in the first place, and *more especially* to those of the Mother Country, which makes such great sacrifices for this possession, and the contributions to the support of which are so heavy a burthen upon the exhausted Republic; under such circumstances, it is painful to perceive so great an attachment to a nation, which, for years past, has contributed so much towards our ruin.

I ascribe the steps you have thought proper to take, Privy Counsellor, to generous principles, and this it is that has induced me to develope to you my sentiments so much at length.

Hail and Esteem!

(Signed) J. W. JANSSENS.

W.

Cape Town, 3d February, 1806.

SIR,

The British Commander in Chief, Sir David Baird, having, upon my application, been pleased to grant, that to such Civil Employers, who *ought* to return to Europe, a free passage should be given, I have the honor of requesting you to inform me, if you should not be desirous to avail yourself of this favor, and in this case, to state the number which compose your family, and those who you would wish should accompany you, in order that I may have it in my power to arrange the definitive measures to this effect with His Excellency Sir David Baird.

I have the honor to subscribe myself with distinguished consideration,

Your devoted friend and servant,

(Signed) J. W. JANSSENS,

Mr. GRAND.

X.

SOUTH AFRICA, Cape of Good Hope, 16th February, 1806.

SIR,

General Janssens has desired me to inform you, which I have the honor of doing by this address, that His Excellency has obtained a Passage for you on one of the Cartel Ships.

The Adjutant General Rancke will, on account thereof, give you further information.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Your Friend and Servant,

(Signed) R. DE KLERCK DIBBETZ,

Act. Gov. Secretary.

To Mr. Grand.

No. 37.

APPENDIX.

No. 37, Pub. Con. 7th April, 1794.

To EDWARD HAY, Esq. Secretary to Government.

" SIR,

" The Accountant-General having signified to me the necessity of obtaining a Certificate from the Treasury that defrayed my salary, of the offices I held to the 1st of May, 1793, of Judge and Magistrate of Patna, I have the honor to enclose copy of a letter from the late Collector of Bahar, to this effect.

" I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) " G. F. GRAND.

Calcutta, 31*st March*, 1794.

No. 38, Enclosure from Mr. Grand, 31st March.

" To G. F. GRAND, Esq. late Judge and Magistrate of PATNA.

" SIR,

" In reply to your favor of the 22d ultimo, I have the pleasure to inform you, that on a reference to the Accounts, you were paid up your salary as Judge and Magistrate of Patna, till October, 1792, only, the order for which was issued by me in December of that year; and that no other payment appears subsequently to have been made on the said account from the Bahar Treasury.

" I am, &c.

(Signed) " A. SETON, the Collector of Bahar.

A true Copy, *(Signed)* " G. F. GRAND."

Gyah, 23*d March*, 1794.

No. 38. A. Pub. Cons. 7th April, 1794.

THE HONORABLE COMPANY, *Dr.*

To travelling charges from Calcutta to Patna, in March, 1793, agreeably to the order of the Board, being 400 miles, at 2. 2. per mile.....*Sicca Rupees* 840

Calcutta, 18*th February*, 1794.

Contents received. *(Signed)* G. F. GRAND.

Pub. Cons.

Pub. Cons. 1st September, 1794.

Read again Mr. GRAND's letter, dated the 31st of March, and recorded on the Proceedings of the 7th of April.

Ordered, "That Mr. GRAND be informed, in answer to it, that the Board cannot pass any order relative to the salary he claims from the end of October, 1792, to the 1st May, 1793, until they shall have come to a decision upon the complaints against his conduct in the office of Magistrate for the city of Patna."*

* Observe this resolution, recorded on the face of their consultations. Observe its date. Observe that however repeatedly urged to the same purport, it is still delayed from year to year, until the 30th June, 1798, when I felt compelled, from such manifest injustice, to appeal to their superiors, and this, without knowing the specific grounds, as I have in the said Memorial described. Observe in this promise of a decision, the intended verdict points out and rests alone *on charges against the Magistrate*, none against the Judge. The former must have been in allusion to those invited and picked up charges against the cutwal (Lieutenant de Police) *which occurred after my recall*, the harsh and cruel act of which proclaimed my disgrace, and that I stood, contrary to all rule and form of precedent, actually prejudged and prescribed. On these loose and vague accusations, the instructions to the Committee were founded, and observe my comments thereon, by referring to Appendix O. Never was persecution carried to such an end. In this instance of *inviting complaints*, contrary to every principle of natural justice, was the majesty of justice invaded, and in the procrastination of deciding on the merits of the case, was the maxim truely verified, that "speedy justice is preferable to tardy justice." For, in that lapse of time, were uselessly consumed the most active years of my life, and could a good cause have been wanting of eventual interest to be exercised in its support, I should not have solicited, without effect, the powerful interest of my deceased relations and friends, Edward and René Payne, Esqs. who, in that interval, had both paid their debt to nature, and whose existence appeared to have been completely forgotten *by some of their contemporaries*, enemies to such virtues, as these valuable men had throughout their career uniformly displayed. The fact was, Sir John Shore and his Counsellors could not decide without inculpating *him*, who they venerated, and whose frowns they dreaded. They were sensible that *his* act had been illegal, and was consequently untenable. They drew up, I understood, *after my departure from Bengal*, an elaborate and tortured minute, in excuse of their proceedings; and I pray, my readers, finally to observe, that although I heard it resounded in my ears at the India House by the clerks in office, as an elegant composition in writing, yet, I was, by their masters, however I implored a copy of it, if any forced construction caused a necessity for refutation, *denied access to it*, and to this hour, so help me God, I have never seen it, nor known its contents!

1st February, 1808. *(Signed)* G. F. GRAND.

Postscript

Postscript to my Narrative.

A miserable Author, denominating himself *the Modern Plutarch*, has had the impudence to assert, "That at a dinner given by Monsieur De Talleyrand in 1802, *then* the Minister in "France for Foreign Affairs, there sat down to table, the former Mrs. Grand, with her former husband, "Sir Elijah Impey, who had presided on the bench in the action at law brought by him before his Tri-"bunal, and Sir Philip Francis who had committed the injury." I treated the remark, at the juncture when I saw the publication, with the contempt so unfounded an assertion merited; and, it had accordingly escaped my memory, when I was finishing the Narrative of my Life, which I have given.

Having, however, suffered so much under the English Government, which has prevailed where I have resided, as to have been ejected, soon after the Colony had surrendered, from the employment which its brave and humane Conqueror, the present Lieutenant General Sir David Baird, K. B. had bestowed, for the object of its tending to my comfort, in my elder days, viz. Inspector of His Majesty's Woods and Lands, I feel myself compelled to animadvert thereon, and out of justice to both parties implicated in this illiberal and false observation, to refute this calumny in all its points.

I do, therefore, call God to witness, that, to my knowledge, I never saw the first Mrs. Grand, *neither in India, nor in Europe*, from that melancholy Sunday, viz. the 15th of December, 1778, the sensations of which day I have described, and which fixed our eternal separation. We remained, from that moment, alike those, who having lived for a time in the height of happiness, have witnessed that happiness, suddenly and unexpectedly interrupted by one being cut off, never in this world to meet again. Persons of this stamp can never forget the ties which had existed. We knew the delicacy of each other's sentiments, and never once thought of infringing that line of conduct which such a sense of feeling naturally prescribed: those whose minds are congenial will credit my assertions. They will be reckoned in the number of my English readers; for with most of the French, such an idea would be condemned as preposterous in the extreme. I have known some of this nation, very amiable men, yet assuming the liberty, which an Englishman would, however intimate, refrain from, that of entering into your domestic concerns, express themselves to the following effect on this subject. "*Faites divorce aujourd'hui, mon cher,* "*mais remariez vous demain; c'est la plus belle femme qui existe.*" Such was the only sacrifice, which the uncommon charms of her beauty had created with such men.—They deemed it alone requisite for *l'étiquette, ou l'usage du monde*, to be observed, in the manner which I have related; such is the difference of sentiments existing between two nations, only separated from each other, by a branch of the sea; and, nevertheless, each thinking, that honor guides their respective actions.

I, certainly, went to Paris in June, 1802, and with the exception of the friend of my youth, Mr. Wombwell, and my lamented friend Sir Elijah Impey, saw, during my sojournment in that capital, none of the other

other persons mentioned. I lodged at the *Hôtel du Cercle, Rue de Richelieu,* an Hôtel, for the accommodation alone of male strangers. Madame De Talleyrand was, as I understood, inhabiting Neuilly, a residence in the environs of Paris, appertaining to Monsieur De Talleyrand. It was in the height of summer, and few people of rank frequented the city.—I gratified my curiosity in seeing the public buildings, the Museum, &c. &c. and, after an abode of a very few days, departed for Switzerland, where, the reception which I met with from relations and the old friends of my younger days, the agreable society into which I was immediately admitted, the cheap and delightful furnished lodgings wherein I dwelt, the moderate price required for every article and necessary of life, the salutary air breathed, the beauty of the scene around, all these were considerations, which might have fixed me there for life, had it not been just at an epoch, when a civil war was on the point of spreading through its territories.—It had broke out in one part, at a little distance from Lausanne, some blood was shed, and more would have been spilled, but for the powerful interference of France. General Rapp, the First Consul's Aide de Camp, repaired to Lausanne, with Bonaparte's mandate to desist from all hostilities, and General Ney marched into Berne, with a formidable corps of French troops, in order to enforce obedience and submission, of the differences existing, to his Master's imperious sway,—At this moment, the offer was made to me, of the situation which I came vested with subsequently to the Cape of Good Hope; and determined to take no part in the dissentions, which had arisen in the former peaceable and tranquil Switzerland, and not foreseeing their termination would have been so speedy, I gave my assent to the proposition, and prepared to quit the comforts which I was in the enjoyment of at Lausanne. I had it notified to me, that the ships, on board one of which my passage had been secured, were to sail for their destination in all October.—My friend, Mr. Wombwell, had engaged, when we parted in Paris, to spend his winter with me in Lausanne; but debarred from this intention, by an apprehension of the cold, he resolved to exchange its dreaded severity, for the milder region of Nice. Unwilling, however, we should go such different directions, without once more seeing each other, he wrote, and entreated me to meet him at Lyons, and remain a few days, which he augured would be the last time we should be together. With an equal inclination, as my much esteemed friend had expressed, did I repair to the destination fixed; and to this delay, and the resolution which I had formed, of returning to Switzerland, and pursuing my journey, along the left banks of the Rhine, viz. through Basle, Strasbourg, Mayence, Coblentz, &c. &c. to Holland, with the miraculous interposition of Providence in my behalf, did I owe my escape from shipwreck on the *De Vrede,* (the great cabin of which had been assigned to me), an East Indiaman, which went to pieces off Dungeness, and the Captain of which, with the majority of the crew, and all the passengers, perished.

Sir Elijah Impey congratulated me in having been saved from such a disaster, observing, that he trusted, this Almighty miraculous deliverance, portended at once, that I was reserved for happier days, than those which he knew I had recently experienced. I thanked him, and must gratefully repeat, his prediction has been accomplished, in the enjoyment of the blessings of health, of a composed mind, of an amiable partner, and a continued cheerful residence with her worthy family; these having fully compensated for a loss of wordly honors and riches.

Cape of Good Hope, 30th April, 1814.

(Signed) G. F. GRAND.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

In Page the 2d, for *characcter*, read CHARACTER.

——— 5th, for *illumunations*, read ILLUMINATIONS.

——— 7th, for *attentiou*, read ATTENTION.

——— 12th, for *consequecce*, read CONSEQUENCE.

——— 32d, for *freightened*, read FRIGHTENED.

——— 34th, for *preceeded*, read PRECEDED.

——— 46th, for *Rochefaucault*, read ROCHEFOUCAULT.

——— 47th, Appendix *K.* This Document referred to is wanting. It relates to Appendix *H*, wherein, will be seen in the Board of Revenues' letter, they thank me for it, as comprising an essential detail of the customs and usages of Tirhoot, and indeed these prevailing in Bahar.

——— 47th, Appendix *L. M.* relates in its reference to Appendix *H.* being a part of the contents of the above letter described.

——— 51st, for *Vide Appendix*, read VIDE APPENDIX N.

——— 52d, for *Vide Appendix*, read VIDE APPENDIX N.

——— 54th, for *Vide Memorial, 30th June, Appendix P.* read VIDE MEMORIAL, 30th JUNE, APPENDIX L.

——— 55th, for *Vide Appendix Q*, read VIDE APPENDIX L.

——— 30th, Appendix, for *prescribed*, read PROSCRIBED.

——— for *speedy justice*, read SPEEDY INJUSTICE.

Postscript, 7th line from the last, for *at once*, read AN OMEN.